Routes to tour in Germany

Mannheim
Heidelberg
Eberbach
Gundelsheim
Rothenburg
Ansbach
Nürnberg

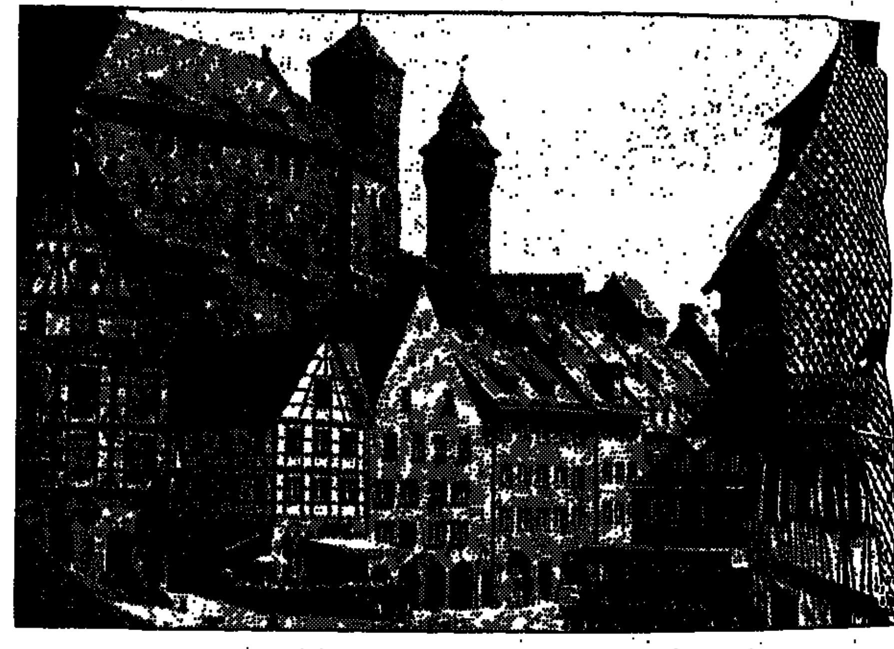
The Castle Route

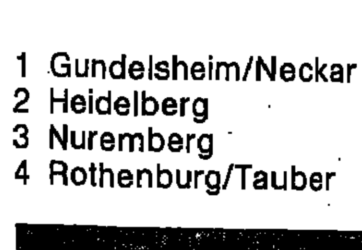


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1 Gundelsheim/Neckar
2 Heidelberg
3 Nuremberg
4 Rothenburg/Tauber





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The German Tribune

Hamburg, 30 July 1989
Twenty-eighth year - No. 1380 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858
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The West works on an aid plan for Poland

DIE ZEIT

On 7 July, 1947, the Polish government turned down an invitation by the western allies to attend the Marshall Plan conference in Paris. This decision was one of the milestones along Europe's road to the Cold War.

Although Warsaw was initially interested in the aid programme drawn up by the United States it then — together with Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia — turned its back on the West following pressure by Stalin.

Its refusal of Marshall Plan support was the final signal for Poland's reorganisation into a "people's democracy", its subsequent dependence on the Soviet economy, and the dictatorship of the Communist party.

Almost exactly 42 years later one of the key items on an international conference agenda (once again in Paris) was how to help reverse the decision made by the Poles "under duress" back in 1947.

The 15th economic summit of the seven leading western industrialised nations agreed to help Poland and Hungary renew and open up their economies on a lasting basis.

In September a conference chaired by the European Community Commission will set about coordinating bilateral assistance projects.

In the Paris Club of western creditor nations the seven summiteers will advocate a speedy, flexible and accommodating rescheduling of the Polish debts totalling $39.2bn.

Just one day after the end of the Paris summit the foreign ministers of the European Community agreed to use the Community's agricultural surpluses to help the Poles.

According to European Commission calculations 5.5 million tons of wheat and 235,000 tons of beef are currently in storage in the European Community.

The Community also intends giving Poland a helping hand in the field of logistics.

In the opinion of the president of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, the Poles are at unable to transport the food to the consumers in the required time.

The programme is planned to last two or three years. The Community's Agriculture Ministers still have to work out the details.

Many an optimist already detects the contours of a "Marshall Plan for Eastern Europe" in these projects. The comparison is inapt.

As opposed to 1947, today's objective is not to establish a completely new economic system, but to restructure an ailing and inappropriately structured industry.

Many economic reformers in Warsaw and Budapest feel that this restructuring is much more difficult than reconstruction in the early post-war years. Forty years of planned economy cannot be undone.

In view of the difficulty of the task the extent of the western aid projects is rather modest.

If all the offers made so far are added up the total figure (excluding food aid) is at most $1.6bn.

By way of comparison, the United States provided $13bn over a period of four years within the framework of the Marshall Plan — a figure which roughly corresponded to its defence budget.

Working on the basis of this yardstick the Federal Republic of Germany alone would have to grant assistance to Eastern Europe to the tune of DM50bn.

The fact that aid for Eastern Europe has become a priority issue in the western community of states is more important for Poland than the extent of the assistance offered.

In a commentary on the Paris summit the Polish party newspaper *Tribuna Ludu* claimed that in the past the grand declarations by the West have often not been followed by the corresponding action.

This time, however, the newspaper commented, it is not exaggerated to claim "that the climate which accompanies the steps announced is really good."

Witold Trzeciakowski, the economics expert of the Solidarity trade union, also praised the "good climate" in Paris.

The ideas of the Polish government and the Opposition in Poland on western economic aid and the concepts of the potential lenders have converged substantially.

Warsaw originally hoped for untied loans worth $7bn, but was given the cold shoulder by the West.

No-one was willing to run the risk of a repetition of the experience made during the 70s.

At that time the Polish government led by Edward Gierek misdirected huge western loans into unprofitable investment projects and plunged Poland into its debt crisis.

In the meantime both the government and Solidarity have completely accepted the western philosophy: credits only for specific projects and a check of project profitability by an independent firm, if possible a West-East joint venture.

The change in the Polish position was clearly reflected in a letter sent on 30 June to the French president, Francois Mitterrand, and the other leaders attending the Paris summit by Poland's party leader, Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The "wishes" Jaruzelski lists in his letter include $1bn in food aid, new loans amounting to $2bn, a debt refinancing agreement, and, above all, a list of concrete projects worth a total of $3bn which Poland hopes to realise with western financial assistance.

Just how generously the West responds to this list will become clear during the European Community conference in September.

The western donors are also subject to domestic policy constraints.

On the one hand, the American president George Bush has an interest in a Poland programme with good publicity value in order to gain or retain the support of Americans of Polish origin; on the other hand, Congress curbs his spending enthusiasm.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl knows that a failure of reforms in Eastern Europe would have particularly detrimental effects on the Federal Republic of Germany. This explains his interest in a generous assistance programme.

As there is also strong resentment in the CDU and CSU, however, against aid for Poland the government tries to keep its generosity out of the political limelight.

Irrespective of its public restraint Bonn *has offered Poland by far the most extensive* bilateral assistance package:

- Bonn intends writing off the untied DM1bn "jumbo loan" granted to Poland by the Schmidt government in 1975.

The principal and interest instalments due to date (DM520m) are to be written off completely.

The outstanding instalments (DM720m) are to be converted into Polish zloty; this is combined with the commitment that the Polish government spends the money on projects of common interest: a memorial for the German resistance to National Socialism in Kreisau (Silesia), the restoration of former German towns, the promotion of the German language, but also projects designed to improve Poland's exporting ability.

- In the Paris Club of creditor nations the Bonn government will do its utmost on Poland's behalf to obtain a generous solution during the negotiations on a fifth debt rescheduling agreement.

Bonn is also willing to accept a moratorium on Poland's interest payments if Poland reaches fundamental agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on a standby credit and an adjustment programme.

- The Bonn government will again provide "Hermes" export credit guarantees for short-term export credits (up to 360 days), although the extent of the guarantees will be initially limited.
- Long-term credit guarantees will again be provided for selected projects.

Two projects are under discussion: the renovation of Warsaw airport (DM650m) and the construction of a "foreign exchange hotel" for pilgrims to the shrine of the Virgin Mary in Czestockowa.

It is hoped that both projects will be able to give Poland more foreign exchange on a speedy and uncomplicated

Continued on page 2

No doubles troubles

Eric Jelen (left) and Boris Becker after winning the Davis Cup semi-final doubles against the USA. Germany, the holders, also won two of the four singles in Munich to take the tie 3-2. It plays Sweden in the final. (Photo: Bongarts)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ INTERNATIONAL

Soviet Union: ideological weapons no solution

The striking Soviet miners are involved in industrial action with a difference. They have downed tools in dispute with a group that claims to rule in their name.

They have set up new (in reality very old) forms of organisation such as the Party's manual on political economy says invariably occur at the onset of a revolutionary situation.

They have set up strike committees separate and *distinct from the machinery* of government, committees that could be the germ cells of soviets, or councils.

Yet they aren't engaged in a battle with their head of state and Party leader. Quite the opposite. They want to help him on his way toward social change.

The miners' strike is as political as a mass strike can be. The question it implies is whether the Soviet system can be reformed and, indeed, who is in control.

The reaction of the *nomenklatura*, the privileged class in Soviet society, has made this point clear.

Members of the CPSU central committee have called for restrictive measures such as limits to Press freedom, a ban on destructive criticism, tough measures against those who refuse to do as they are told and the appointment of a watchdog deputy to the Party leader.

The aim is to silence and suppress opposition. That has been the keynote of the Soviet system since Stalin's days. It is what led to the present crisis.

The more cautious of the Soviet leaders would like to see the Party machine, with its built-in inertia, grind to a halt on its Brezhnev skid marks. That would be equally foolish.

A quiet corner until all has blown over is not what is needed. What is needed is a solution. What the solution is — that is the $64,000 question.

The political map of the Soviet Union is pockmarked with crises. The need for change and reforms is evident all over the country.

Signposts to the safety of a new and improved system are nowhere apparent, and the old signposts point in the wrong direction, as has long been clear.

Mr Gorbachov and his associates are at least looking for new directions. In Leningrad the general secretary warned that emotions were let loose on the streets while an ominous silence reigned in many Party organisations.

He told Party officials that new blood was badly needed. But is that enough? The Party itself with its claim to be the sole representative of all classes in Soviet society and the repository of the sole truth is the crisis.

What it needs is competition, not just a purge. It needs corrective control not only from within ("intra-Party democracy") but from without, and from without in particular.

Democracy is what is needed, at least 1917/18-style Soviet democracy, with competition between different political parties.

Yet since Lenin the CPSU has felt that any party which was allowed to organise alongside it could only do so on behalf of the class enemy and of counter-revolution.

Since 1921 the same sham argument has been used to ban the formation of factions and tendencies within the Communist Party.

Thereafter, for 65 years, even deviationist thoughts about detailed issues were taboo, providing the machinery of power with an excellent means of maintaining control by means of thought police.

Lenin-style socialism prescribed itself a course of poverty of thought; Stalin-style socialism put an end to thought of any kind.

The only way in which the "system" can be reformed is by a fundamental opening, by the right of combination, by free elections.

Coercion suppresses justified and unjustified interests of social groups and classes and clouds the difference between justice and presumption.

Freedom — the freedom to hold views other than one's own — and tolerance may *not eliminate clashes of interest*, but they at least involve the possibility of a settlement.

The *nomenklatura* feel this to be alarming. The Soviet ruling class has forfeited the moral and ideological legitimation of its power, the objective legitimation too. It can still survive as the self-proclaimed arbiter of society.

It has sought and found Mikhail Gorbachov as the custodian of its overall interests, as opposed to Mr Gorbachov's associates, men and women who seek to supersede these very interests.

For the ruling class the new Soviet workers' movement poses the crucial question, and does so more trenchantly than nationalist sentiment from Tallinn to Tashkent.

What is the social quality of the Soviet state to be? What political means must society be equipped with to ensure its survival? The present wave of strikes may be brought to a halt by special ration handouts, by soap and padded jackets.

But other workers will follow, striking for the same objectives, and the same political objectives too.

The powers that be will soon have to decide whether they are in a position to reform themselves or prefer to succumb to the temptation of a Chinese-style solution.

Ideological weapons are already being brandished. They may soon be followed by others. That would be fatal for the survival of a system that wrongly claims to be socialist. It would be no less fata for a ruling class that is still unaware that in historical terms it already consists, to quote a great Russian writer of the 19th century, of dead souls.

Karl Grobe

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 July 1989)

Jaruzelski both too weak and too strong

Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected president of Poland by the Polish national assembly by just one vote.

This narrow majority by no means corresponds to the numerical distribution of power between the coalition and the Opposition.

The Polish Communist Party and the small parties which rally behind its banner have a clear majority in parliament.

A number of parliamentarians from both camps refused to take part in the vote, abstained or rendered their ballot papers invalid.

The number of votes were cast against Jaruzelski was lower than the number of Opposition seats in both chambers of the Sejm.

This produced a result which must please the Opposition: a president too weak to develop autocratic mannerisms but strong enough to sustain reforms.

The man who imposed martial law in Poland in December 1981 and who persecuted the supporters of the Solidarity trade union described his behaviour at that time as a decision for the "lesser evil" (the greater would have been intervention by the Soviet Union).

Only a small section of the Polish population is presumably willing to accept this version of events; a larger section seems willing to acknowledge that he has contributed towards reconciling the fronts this year.

Jaruzelski made a fundamental political change possible in Poland. He is the prerequisite for the willingness of western states to afford assistance to this country.

This in turn could inspire the Poles to overcome the lethargy born of necessity.

Jaruzelski, however, has taken the Poles on a very long detour along the road to democracy.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 July 1989)

Ban on chemical weapons appears likelier

Hopes that a world ban on chemical weapons might be agreed are fast taking shape, with America and Russia being said to have reached bilateral agreement on major aspects of treaty terms.

If indeed they have done, the Geneva disarmament conference may be assumed to be within signing distance of the treaty terms that have been the aim of the talks for eight years.

Verification has so far been the crucial handicap. The West has constantly, and rightly, insisted on international inspection in general, and on mandatory spot checks in particular.

When Moscow, which had long objected to spot checks, finally came round to this way of thinking too, US experts began to doubt whether detailed checks were technically feasible.

They also had constitutional misgivings about surveillance and searching of private companies.

If these objections have, as is rumoured, been resolved and a consensus has been reached between the superpowers, a great leap forward will have been taken.

We Germans would have good reason to feel partiularly relieved, and not just because enormous stockpiles of chemical weapons are stored in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Pending a world ban, the Federal Republic undertook in 1954 not to manufacture biological and chemical weapons and has since been the only ountry to agree to international inspection and spot checks.

That was why the growing likelihood, after initial doubts, that German firms were associated with the construction of chemical arms production facilities in Libya roused such ire — both in Germany and among our allies.

The real danger today is indeed that unpredictable Third World countries might gain access to chemical weapons and threaten to use them on their neighbours.

This threat was a gruesome reality in the Gulf War. It is a trend that must be stopped.

Bernt Conrad

(Die Welt, Bonn, 19 July 1989)

Poland

Continued from page 1

basis. Experts in Bonn estimate the value of Bonn's assistance offer (without rescheduling) at $1.3bn.

In comparison the offers of the other summit nations look pretty meagre.

The United States intend paying $100m into a Polish-American Enterprise Fund and contributing $15m towards environmental protection in Cracow.

Britain has earmarked a figure of $40m for management training over a period of five years, and France is offering short-term loans amounting to $90m.

Before the assistance programmes are implemented the *Poles and* their western partners have to find answers to a number of difficult problems.

One big problem, for example is the rate at which the second half of Bonn's loan, which is a de facto debt remission, should be exchanged into zloty.

The official rate, which foreign visitors to Poland have to pay in the hotels working on a foreign exchange basis, is 450 zloty for 1 deutschmark. The corresponding exchange rate in Warsaw's unofficial exchange offices is 2,500:1.

Furthermore, the "zlotyisation" of the DM loan will push up inflation in Poland; in addition, the Germans may be faced with hard-currency follow-on costs.

No-one, for example, can imagine that the restoration of historical monuments in Poland will be possible without the import of materials.

The remission of the loan does not bring fresh money into Poland and is thus only regarded to a limited degree as aid by the Poles themselves.

During the debt rescheduling negotiations the creditors only have limited room to manoeuvre.

The negotiations with Poland are not allowed to discriminate against the highly-indebted countries in Latin America.

One German banker underlined the awkward situation confronting the Federal Republic of Germany:

"We cannot simply say: the Germans invaded Poland, so let's write off DM8bn of its debt. You can just imagine who would then start knocking on Bonn's door."

It is still by no means certain how lastingly and effectively the West can help Poland and Hungary.

In a review in this newspaper of the Marshall Plan one of its initiators, George Kennan, described how important the offer an assistance is in itself (regardless of the content):

"The certainty alone that something serious was taking place... released important European forces — financial and intellectual — before American assistance at all began."

Wolfgang Hoffmann/Nikolaus Piper

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 21 July 1989)

The German Tribune

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 3-4 Hartwicusstrasse, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733.
Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. – Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.

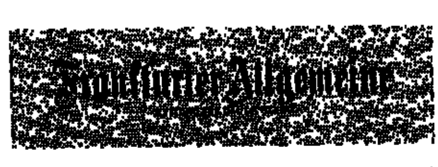
Published weekly with the exception of the second week in January, the second week in April, the third week in September and the third week in November.

Advertising rates list No. 16
Annual subscription DM 45
Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln
Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc., 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
Postmaster: send change of address to The German Tribune % MASS MAILINGS.
Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

■ EUROPE

Need for free-trade grouping to pull together and nail colours to mast



Whatever may become of its application to join the European Community, Austria will for years continue to be a member of the European Free Trade Association (Efta) — and Viennese diplomat Georg Reisch will continue to be Efta's secretary-general.

Outwardly there will be no change in Efta; inwardly the Community's attraction has long been perceptible.

Relations between the six member-countries Iceland, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Austria are strained at present. Efta may not be coming apart at the seams, but the seams are even more readily apparent than they used to be.

Efta must nail its colours to the mast. Is the present club of individualists to become a group that speaks with one voice and negotiates jointly with the Community?

Or does Efta aim to continue as a loosely-aligned ad hoc group of, for the most part, neutral countries with a small, office-sized secretariat?

The strong power of attraction the European Community has gained with its internal market programme has set Efta vibrating with a vengeance.

The question is whether a free trade association can generate sufficient magnetic power as a counter-pole. As yet it has only begun to do so.

Under political pressure from industry, the governments of Efta countries have closed ranks to some extent. In mixed European Community-Efta groups talks are being held on how partnership between the two organisations might be improved and faster results achieved.

Holding these talks was suggested in January by Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission.

He and the Commission can certainly not be interested in seeing Efta break up. The applications to join the European Community that might well result from the break-up of Efta would merely upset the Community as matters stand.

Membership bids by neutrals, possibly followed, sooner or later, by East Bloc countries, would create additional complications.

Yet contingency planning is permissible. One such contingency, hinted at in the 1984 Luxembourg declaration, is that the Community and Efta might establish even closer economic ties over and above the existing free trade agreements for industrial goods and parallel to the internal market.

This economic interface might be so comprehensive that Austria ended up not needing to make the formal membership application it is now considering.

Scenarios of this kind have so far been mere wishful thinking among Efta countries. The first steps Efta has taken to consolidate its own organisation show how varied the interests and intentions of Efta member-countries are.

Switzerland, centrally located in Europe and an economic power in its own right, prefers to arrange its relations with the European Community on a mainly bilateral basis, as hitherto, and is not interested in Efta being granted supranational powers.

Norway and Sweden, in contrast, set great store by Efta. How long they will continue to do so is another matter; observers give Efta another year and a half.

If it succeeds, over the next 18 months, in getting its act together and reaching agreement with the Community on largely internal market terms and conditions, its chances of survival will be good.

If it doesn't, there are likely to be more applications to join the European Community, failing which other groups might take shape in northern Europe.

At the mid-March Oslo Efta summit an overt clash between Norway, Sweden and Switzerland on the future role of the free trade association was averted.

Efta stated its readiness to consider as free a trade as possible in goods, services, capital and manpower with the Community.

But by the end of June, at an Efta Ministerial meeting in Kristiansand, Norway, the Swiss announced that they had a number of misgivings about strengthening Efta's hand.

Merely thinking aloud about majority decisions triggers knee-jerk responses among Swiss government officials.

Switzerland does not want to rule out national arrangements with the Community, and anything more far-reaching seems sure to clash with Swiss neutrality and Switzerland's direct democracy.

Swiss Foreign Minister René Felber recently spent four days in Norway, which was some indication of how serious the differences between Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries are.

Swedish Premier Ingvar Carlsson is to visit Switzerland in September. This spate of diplomatic visits clearly reflects the currents of opinion within Efta.

The Swiss government is under pressure, and not just in Efta. Domestic criticism has been voiced, like a bolt out of the blue, by political parties and in the Press.

Leading Swiss trade diplomat Franz Blankart's self-assured slogan that Switzerland must keep pace with the European Community in order not to have to join it used to enjoy almost unanimous support.

Warnings are now being voiced that Switzerland could be risking isolation.

The influential head of the Confederation of Swiss Industry, Markus Kündig, recently told the lower chamber of the Swiss Parliament in Berne that:

"If we are sufficiently inept Europe will have no need of Switzerland, while if we cut ourselves off from Efta we will be lost."

Few Swiss businessmen had previously been so outspoken. Newspaper leader-writers add that Switzerland would be unwise to apply pressure on the brakes in the process of rapprochement between the European Community and Efta.

This headline-hitting dispute within Efta has tended to cover up progress made in recent months in bringing about this rapprochement. But it does help to clarify viewpoints.

Work is at present progressing in small groups that shun the limelight. The headway they make will show how far the Efta states are prepared to go on the "four freedoms" (goods, services, capital and manpower).

It will also show how Efta as an institution plans to proceed in negotiations with the Community.

Konrad Mrusek

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 July 1989)

Austria waits at Brussels' door — and banks on Germany

By a substantial majority the Austrian Parliament has instructed the Vienna government to submit a membership application to the European Community.

In the 12 capital cities of existing member-countries care has been taken not to influence the process by which a consensus on this issue was arrived at in Austria.

Yet some German Social Democrats encouraged their Austrian counterparts, the Socialists (SPÖ), not without due consideration.

All leading parties in the Austrian Parliament are jointly agreed that full membership of the European Community must be subject to Austria's "permanent neutrality" being guaranteed.

Member-governments of the present 12-member Community will be obliged to arrive at a fundamental decision as soon as they are called on to consider the Austrian membership bid.

To endorse it would mean that the European Community might be a customs union and economic bloc, possibly with a common currency, but could not go on to pursue common defence policies.

That is one of the main reasons why Vienna has decided to submit its membership application now, before the pace of fundamental decisions reached at European Community summits every six months further prejudices the issue.

Austrian decision-makers were well aware that Community Foreign Ministers, meeting in mid-July, would refer the application to the European Commission in Brussels.

They did so as a matter of routine, the Commission's views on the subject being a statutory requirement.

Jacques Delors, the French president of the European Commission, plainly but diplomatically told the European Parliament early this year that membership bids could not now be considered before 1993, when the internal market is due to come into force.

This applies to Turkey, which applied to join the Community two years ago (an application on which all member-governments have cold feet, although they are not prepared to say so publicly).

It applies in equal measure to Austria, Cyprus, Malta and Norway.

What the Austrians are banking on is the almost natural inclination in the Federal Republic of Germany to pave the way for a country with which it has such strong cultural and economic ties (including a common history until 1866).

Austrian accession would almost automatically make German the Community's third "working language" alongside English and French.

Economic, trade union and legal structures are extremely similar in the two countries, as are views on environmental protection and social trends.

The Austrian currency, the schilling, has been unofficially pegged to the deutschemark for years, and pegged so closely that it could be incorporated in the European Monetary System at any time without difficulty.

Southern member-countries would stand to benefit from Austria's likely status as a further net paymaster alongside the Federal Republic, Britain, France and, slowly but surely, the Benelux countries.

A further argument in favour of its membership is, as Austria sees it, its role as a transit route between the north and the south-east of the Community's internal market.

As a Community member Austria could hope to qualify for grants toward the cost of transport infrastructure to which the Community has so far been unable to agree.

Ought Bonn to urge swift action or to counsel caution on Austria's membership bid within the Twelve? This is a point that could easily trigger party-political disputes in Germany.

The Social Democrats who urge swift action would prefer to see the European Community remain a "non-military bloc."

They argue that problems of common defence could be handled by the Western European Union if Nato ties were to loosen. WEU members are the EEC's six founder-members, Britain, Spain and Portugal.

Besides, they say, Ireland as a member-country since 1973 is not a member of Nato and, although it may not be neutral, is non-aligned. So the Community is already unsuitable for common defence arrangements.

In reality the Twelve can already no longer afford to grant Austria full membership without running a risk of forfeiting credibility.

The Community has so far imposed economic sanctions on extremely rare occasions, having had difficulty in agreeing to sanctions against Argentina during the Falklands conflict, against the Soviet Union after the invasion of Afghanistan or against South Africa in view of apartheid, but it must keep the option open.

Frankfurter Rundschau

The wide-ranging public debate about what is happening in China shows "permanent neutrality" to be virtually impossible for a Western European economic power of growing importance.

In an age in which military might alone is growing steadily less important it is increasingly difficult to draw a clear distinction between foreign affairs and foreign trade.

Can Austria, as a neutral country, endorse the present Community policy of "rewarding" reform processes in Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union and deliberately "neglecting" Rumania and, now, Bulgaria (on account of persecution of ethnic Turks there)?

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 3 July 1989)

Did the German Reich really come to an end in 1945? Or does it continue to exist — albeit not as a political entity?

Following the congress of Silesian exiles in Hanover this month, this tremendously important and highly topical question has again divided the coalition government in Bonn. It could turn into a major political issue.

The reference by the chairman of the CSU, Theo Waigel, to the non-binding character of the German frontiers has alarmed the Poles.

Bonn Foreign Minister and chairman of the FDP Hans-Dietrich Genscher is rightly concerned about the Bonn government's reputation.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl has intervened to settle the matter, but has been *unable to pacify his colleagues.*

Most West Germans are probably not particularly interested. The battles over the treaties with East bloc countries at the beginning of the 70s have been fought.

A repetition today makes no sense at all, since the CDU and the CSU have also long since acknowledged the binding force of the Warsaw Treaty and respect the Oder-Neisse Line.

Experts in international law may be preoccupied with the question whether the latter will be given the final blessing before or after the possible conclusion of a peace treaty. Historically and politically, however, the situation is crystal-clear.

The German Reich experienced its downfall in 1945 because it started a criminal war and lost it.

The victorious powers then brought about a *fait accompli* and drove the German population out of the prewar German territories in the East. Nothing and no-one will resurrect the Reich.

■ GERMANY

Dreams and reality amid the political slogans

Two catastrophic defeats were necessary this century to teach the Germans a lesson. Now we have created a democratic state in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Disregarding waning minorities, the German people are cured of the arrogant belief that the German nation could or should rule Europe.

We realise that we are part of the European family of nations, which can only stand its ground in the world if it works together.

For this reason a renewed revision of the borders with our neighbours to the east — which is what a resettlement of the German expellees would inevitably mean — is absolutely inconceivable.

Anyone who even toys with this idea damages the reputation of the Federal Republic of Germany as well as the prospects for a furtherance of our own political objectives.

The acceptance of this fact does not mean that we also accept all the other consequences of a lost war, in particular the division of our people.

Up to now we have only accepted the fact that the division into two states cannot be altered as long as the relationship between East and West is based on mutual hostility.

Furthermore, it was undoubtedly sensible to initially acknowledge Erich Honecker's government and the Socialist United Party (SED) in order to negotiate improvements on behalf of all Germans. There is nothing else to discuss: nothing about the future of the German nation, citizenships or frontiers.

As long as the East German government has not been elected in free elections and as long as East Germans are unable to decide in free self-determination whether and how they wish to live in their own state the Federal Republic of Germany is solely entitled to represent legitimate national interests.

There is nothing wrong with this. Other nations also feel that seeking both supranational cooperation and the retention of national identity is not problematic.

In Germany, however, many declared this objective to be taboo, thus negligently creating greater scope for the political action of dyed-in-the-wool right-wing groups.

Democrats have no reason to entrust the definition of national objectives to their opponents.

And there is also no reason to let the other Europeans alone decide what constitutes the German Fatherland. All our neighbours are reasonably satisfied with the current situation.

In their more recent remarks on Germany Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov and the French president Francois Mitterrand moved along similar lines.

One said that the division of Germany was "thus determined" by history as a result of the war, and the other warned us that we should not upset history for the sake of some arbitrary hope.

Arbitrary or not, the reference to the unalterable facts of history sounds extremely strange — especially since Gorbachov is doing his utmost to revise history in his own country.

The Soviets talk about the right of self-determination of all peoples and are obviously more serious about this than at any time since 1945.

The Polish and Hungarian peoples are energetically trying to seize this right and throw the model of the socialist-cum-bureaucratic functionary rule onto the scrap heap of history.

Especially if Gorbachov is successful the remaining comrades who rule and regiment in patriarchal style in the GDR, Czechoslovakia or Romania will not be able to cling to power for long.

The examples set by the Poles, Hungarians and the Soviet people are too contagious.

Once the power of the SED begins to crumble in the GDR the German Question will again appear on the agenda of world politics. As these are not exactly welcome prospects for our neighbours it is understandable that the problem is being evaded as long as possible. All the more reason for German politicians to consider the possible implications of international political changes for Germany and which part we should play in the European House. The latest dispute, however, reveals just how much catching up the big political parties have to do in this respect. They still appear to primarily view Deutschlandpolitik as a means of scoring points in the domestic policy fray with political rivals.

True to the political style favoured by Franz Josef Strauss, the new CSU chairman is also currying the favour of conservative diehards to create the image of being someone on whom they can rely to cut the ground from under the feet of the Republicans.

The SPD and FDP are unjustly trying to brand the CDU and CSU as revanchists. By engaging in this mock battle over legal reservations void of content the major parties are gambling away an important chance of making the Germans aware of the opportunities and risks the major changes in Eastern Europe could bring about for Germany.

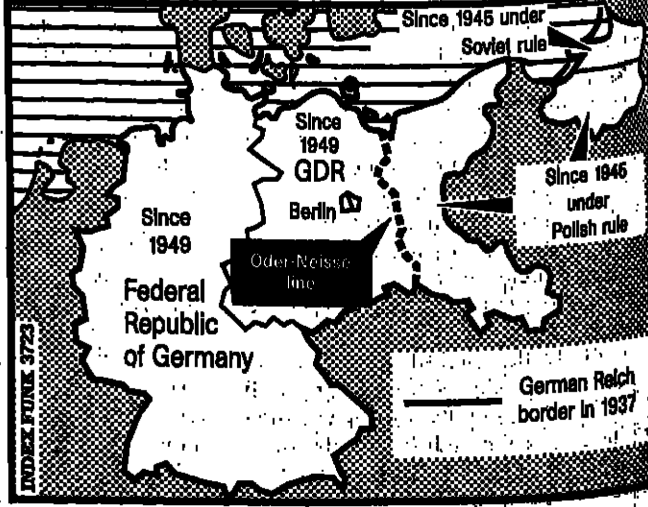
For the first time the vague possibility is visible on the horizon of all Germans being able to one day themselves determine the constitution of the society in which they live.

This is a development once dreamt of by the authors of the Basic Law.

All parties subsequently cited this dream as a political slogan without seriously believing that the dream could ever come true.

Wolfgang Mauersberg

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 July 1989)



Potsdam and the setting of borders

The USA, the Soviet Union and Britain agreed at the Potsdam conference on 2 August, 1945, that "pending the final determination of Poland's western frontier" the major part of the "former German territories" in Eastern Europe "should come under the administration of the Polish state."

Article 9 of the official Protocol delineates the boundary of the roughly 460-kilometre line which severed 114,300 square kilometres or just under a quarter of the former area of the Reich as follows:

"... from the Baltic Sea directly to the west of Swinemünde and from there along the Oder to the confluence with the western Neisse and along the latter to the Czechoslovakian border."

The areas affected were the southern part of East Prussia, Pomerania, parts of West Prussia and Brandenburg, and Silesia.

The Soviet dictator Josef Stalin had already recommended that the Oder River should be Poland's western border in order to "compensate" Poland during the Tehran conference (1943).

In Yalta (1945) he suggested the regulation which was then jointly adopted by the Soviet Union, the USA and Britain in Potsdam.

dpa

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 14 July 1989)

Politics at first hand

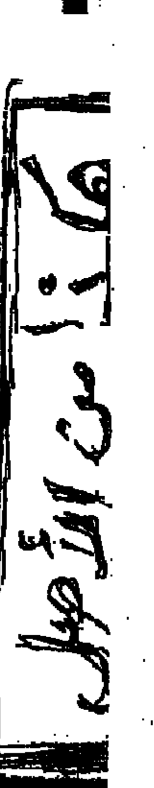
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■ PERSPECTIVE

Dispute rages over museum to honour Nazi opponents

A museum in Berlin to commemorate the 1944 conspirators who almost, but not quite, assassinated Hitler was planned in 1979, commissioned in 1983, partly opened in 1986 and has finally, 45 years after the 20 July 1944 failed coup, been completed.

"A time may one day come," said Peter Graf Yorck von Wartenburg, one of the plotters, "when our attitude is viewed differently, when we are seen as having sounded a note of warning and as having been patriots, not scoundrels."

These and other quotations from members of the German resistance to the Nazi regime line the walls of the first exhibition hall at the German Resistance Memorial.

Yorck's comment is symptomatic in that members of the Kreisau group, to which he belonged, have, like members of the 20 July 1944 group, long gone down in history, and in German national consciousness, as heroes.

But many others who are named in the exhibition are still felt by many Germans to have been scoundrels or even traitors.

To mention them by name has been to trigger a debate on the concept of resistance and has led to a dispute that bedevilled the plans for the Berlin exhibition from the outset.

It is housed in what used to be known as the Bendlerblock, in Stauffenbergstrasse (formerly Bendlerstrasse), where the Wehrmacht high command had its headquarters during the Second World War.

In July 1944 Colonel Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg worked in a second-floor office as chief of staff to the commander-in-chief of the army reserve.

In this capacity he took part in meetings of the War Cabinet at the Führer's East Prussian headquarters, the Wolfschanze.

There, on 20 July, he laid the bomb that was to have killed Hitler and freed the Germans from the terror of the Nazi regime.

It didn't, and that same night Stauffenberg, Friedrich Olbricht, Albrecht Ritter Mertz von Quirnheim and Werner von Haeften were shot after a drumhead court-martial in the main courtyard of the Bendlerblock.

Colonel-General Ludwig Beck was forced to commit suicide in an office two doors down from Stauffenberg's.

Four days after coming to power in 1933 Hitler outlined his political objectives to the German general staff in that very room. They included the elimination of Marxism and the conquest of fresh "living space" to the East.

The failed assassination bid led to a wave of arrests, show trials at the Volksgerichtshof and death sentences that were carried out in Plötzensee, Berlin.

The victims are recalled at the end of the exhibition, assuming you go round it in the direction intended.

The idea of keeping alive the memory of the resistance to the Third Reich was initially put forward by members of the victims' families. A first memorial to the 20 July 1944 conspirators was erected in the Bendlerblock courtyard in 1952.

A year later it was joined by a bronze statue, then by a plaque listing the names of the officers who were executed.

In 1955 Bendlerstrasse was renamed Stauffenbergstrasse. In 1967 a small memorial exhibition was housed in the historic location where visitors could find out more about German resistance to the Nazis.

Political parties in the Berlin House of Representatives agreed in 1979 to enlarge the exhibition, and in 1983 Mayor Richard von Weizsäcker entrusted Passau historian Peter Steinbach with the academic management and Stuttgart designer Hans Peter Hoch with the artistic arrangement of the exhibition.

An advisory council was set up to keep an eye on the concept's progress. It was chaired by former RIAS director-general Ludwig von Hammerstein, who as a young officer had himself been associated with the 1944 plot.

Up till this point the memorial had dealt solely with the 20 July 1944 plot. Mayor Weizsäcker then ruled that it was to cover "the entire range and variety" of the resistance.

The Senate, or city council, had originally intended to inaugurate the exhibition on the 40th anniversary of the plot.

"We had no idea how much work it was going to involve," says the Senate's Dieter Senoner. He and fellow-officials had evidently embarked on the project somewhat naively.

Professor Steinbach also seems to have been unaware at first what he had let himself in for. As there are no central resistance archives, for instance, museums and collections from Tel Aviv to New York had to be checked out.

In some cases old documents stored in packing cases and belonging to the next of kin were given the once-over. Ritter Mertz von Quirnheim's widow was found to have kept a collection of unpublished letters that had yet to be evaluated by historians.

Even critics who complain that the exhibition's presentation is too low-key ungrudgingly admit that Steinbach and his colleagues have put in an enormous amount of research work.

Cooperation with the GDR in connection with the Communist resistance movement has at times been more satisfactory than collaboration with archives in the Federal Republic, Professor Steinbach says.

Over 5,000 documents, facsimiles and photos were collected for the exhibition and reproduced in a process specially devised by Hans Peter Hoch.

The originals are not on show at the exhibition, which runs to 1,000 square metres of floor space, only copies of photos, documents and records.

The first section of the exhibition was opened in 1986. It was inaugurated in full on 19 July 1989, 45 years after the failed coup.

Professor Steinbach and his associates have taken Herr von Weizsäcker's brief very seriously.

No political group has been overlooked even though critics made strenuous attempts to exert pressure on the organisers.

There isn't enough room to name them all, but the 26 rooms of the exhibition building, dubbed the "fox's lair" by Steinbach's associate Johannes Tuchel, covers both the early resistance by Communists, trade unionists and the working class after 1933 and the late resistance by young people in the final phase of the war.

The organisers have relied on a very wide-ranging definition of the term "resistance," including deserters and those who helped people persecuted by the Nazi regime, those who organised resistance in the Warsaw ghetto and their counterparts in the concentration camps.

Working-class resistance is documented, as is Christian resistance till 1939. Three rooms are devoted to the 1944 plot and one each to the Kreisau group, the White Rose group and the resistance movement in exile (including photos of Willy Brandt and Herbert Wehner, Walter Ulbricht and Wilhelm Pieck).

Another room deals with resistance in science and the arts.

The Rote Kapelle group, led by Arvid Harnack and Harro Schulze-Boysen, are housed in a corridor. They are felt in the Federal Republic to have been Communists even though, as Professor Steinbach puts it, their aims were wide-ranging.

The first political clashes arose in connection with the role assigned to Communists. There was an uproar over the photos of Pieck and Ulbricht, for instance.

One argument heard was that portrayal of them was best left to people on the other side of the Berlin Wall. "Right-wingers have sought from the outset to bundle left-wingers out of the exhibition," says a member of the advisory council.

The Catholic Church complained that priests who were members of the resistance are shown in photos with their arms raised in the Hitler salute.

Yet these photos were specially chosen to illustrate the contradictory nature of behaviour in the Third Reich.

Members of the victims' families voiced views too. Carl Goerdeler's daughter, for instance, felt her father, an SPD mayor of Leipzig, was depicted as too conservative.

Political controversy came to a head at the end of 1987 when even Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl saw fit to intervene.

Maria Hermes, née Wirmer, the daughter of Josef Wirmer, who was executed by the Nazis in the wake of the 20 July 1944 plot, and daughter-in-law of resistance worker Andreas Hermes, felt too little attention was paid in the exhibition to Christian Democratic resistance. Herr Kohl, who had received an anonymous counter-assessment of Professor Steinbach's concept, referred the matter to Berlin Education Senator Hanna-Renate Laurien, requesting her to give it her personal attention. Frau Laurien happened not to be in favour of devoting a separate room to the "Christian Democratic resistance" movement. The Berlin Senate of the day, especially Mayor Diepgen, consistently supported Professor Steinbach and his concept as the dispute raged. Yet at the end of 1987 Professor Steinbach offered to hand over the management of the exhibition to someone else. He was accused of deliberately delaying completion of the preparations because, as a Social Democrat put it in a question tabled in the House of Representatives, "funds are evidently abundant and he sees no need to dispense prematurely with a sideline which earns him money in comparison with which his academic salary is a mere pittance."

The exhibition has cost about DM10m to prepare, including DM2m for construction work and alterations to the Bendlerblock building.

Controversy over the concept of resistance raged on. In comparison with last year's dispute over the importance to be assigned to the NKFD (National Committee for a Free Germany) and the *Bund Deutscher Offiziere*, set up in the Soviet Union during the war, previous disputes were child's play.

The NKFD and the BDO consisted of German officers and men taken prisoners of war by the Russians.

They would have nothing more to do with the Nazis and regarded the oath they had sworn to Hitler as null and void because he was a criminal.

The NKFD and the BDO were deployed by the Soviet Union in its propaganda campaign against German soldiers on the Russian front. Later, in PoW camps and after the war, the founders and leaders of the two organisations were "pilloried as traitors and scoundrels," as Heinrich Graf von Einsiedel told the Returned Servicemen's Association only last March.

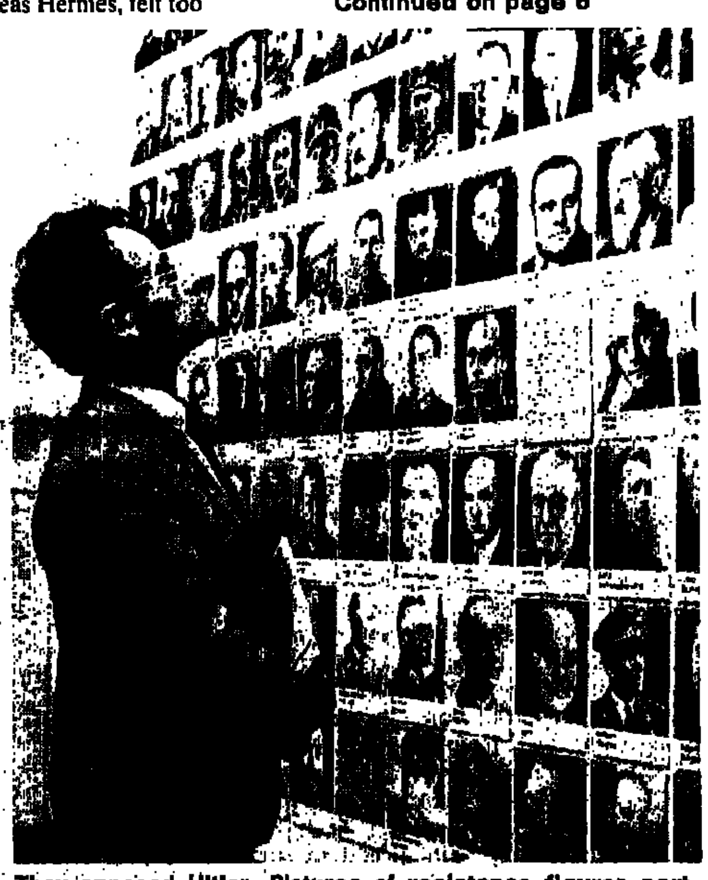
As a young lieutenant he had been a founder-member of the NKFD.

The coverage the NKFD was given in the exhibition triggered a moderate uproar, with campaigns being launched and unusual alliances being formed.

Its opponents ranged from leading members of the Bavarian CSU to the SPD's Annemarie Renger. In August 1988, only a few weeks before he died, CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss wrote to Mayor Diepgen on this topic.

In July Carl-Dieter Spranger of the Bonn Interior Ministry wrote to Mayor Diepgen saying the NKFD had been included in the exhibition at an unfortunate juncture, with the GDR's Defence Minister claiming it to have been a historic pre-

Continued on page 6



They opposed Hitler. Pictures of resistance figures portrayed at the German Resistance Museum in Berlin, which has just been opened amid a considerable amount of controversy. (Photo: AP)

Süddeutsche Zeitung

■ BUSINESS

A romantic port gears itself to unromantic realities

Hundreds of sailing ships gathered in Hamburg for Sail '89, part of the city's 800th anniversary celebrations. It had been expected that three million spectators would turn up to see the ships sail down the Elbe. But the number was more like 500,000 and they didn't see much sail. Because of unfavourable winds, the ships had to use their engines. But this romantic touch of the past has little to do with the tough daily life in the port of Hamburg, which is facing harsh competition from Rotterdam, Antwerp and Bremen. It is going for growth by concentrating on container traffic, logistics and distribution, Investments are being poured in to keep customers in the Far East and Scandinavia when the single European market really gets under way in 1993.

More than 300 sailing ships from 22 countries turned up for Hamburg's Sail '89 festival, one of the high points of the celebrations the city is mounting this year to mark its 800th anniversary.

The city resembles more a vast amusement centre than a hard-working port. The popular view of a major international port is lots of hustle and bustle, with noise and frantic rushing to and fro.

Twenty-five years ago this would have been true of the piers and cargo sheds in Hamburg. It used to take days to load and unload ships.

Dockers had to work hard round the clock to handle a ship. Cargo was either in sacks or cases which had to be stowed away in the holds or heaved up to be landed ashore.

But in a modern container terminal things are not so hectic. Dock employees, especially trained, operate almost noiselessly, aided by computers, loading the coloured boxes into the container ships.

These sophisticated vessels only earn money when they are under way. Every hour they are tied up in port costs the owner money. These days a container ship is in port only a matter of hours before it leaves for the next destination.

This is why sometimes Hamburg port looks deserted; this is why many are amazed at the enormous investment plans the port operators have in mind.

According to a survey by the Hamburgische Landesbank, the number of ships calling at Hamburg annually has dropped by a third since 1965. But over the same period the total volume of cargo handled every year in the port has increased by about two-thirds.

Over this period world trade has grown uninterruptedly, but the makeup of this trade has changed considerably.

Previously most sea-borne cargo volume involved raw materials as bulk cargoes: today ships carry semi-finished or finished merchandise as general cargo.

Furthermore international transport systems have concentrated more on specialised tonnage, which means that ports have had to specialise.

Obviously quite different equipment is required to handle a tanker in port to what is necessary to load and unload a container ship.

The container has grown in importance in world trade with the continuous growth in the exchange of general cargo by sea. Hamburg port has benefited from this.

Last year the port handled 59 million tons of cargo, putting it in third place among European ports.

Rotterdam is the largest, handling 273 million tons a year, followed by Antwerp with 97 million tons.

Some way behind come Amsterdam and Bremen, both with about 30 million tons.

Looking at these ports in terms of the numbers of boxes they handle Hamburg has been in second place in Europe since 1987, and the container mode is very much the transport system of the future.

In 1970, when the first containers were looked upon with curiosity, more than 70 per cent of Hamburg's cargo volume involved bulk cargoes and only 30 per cent general cargo.

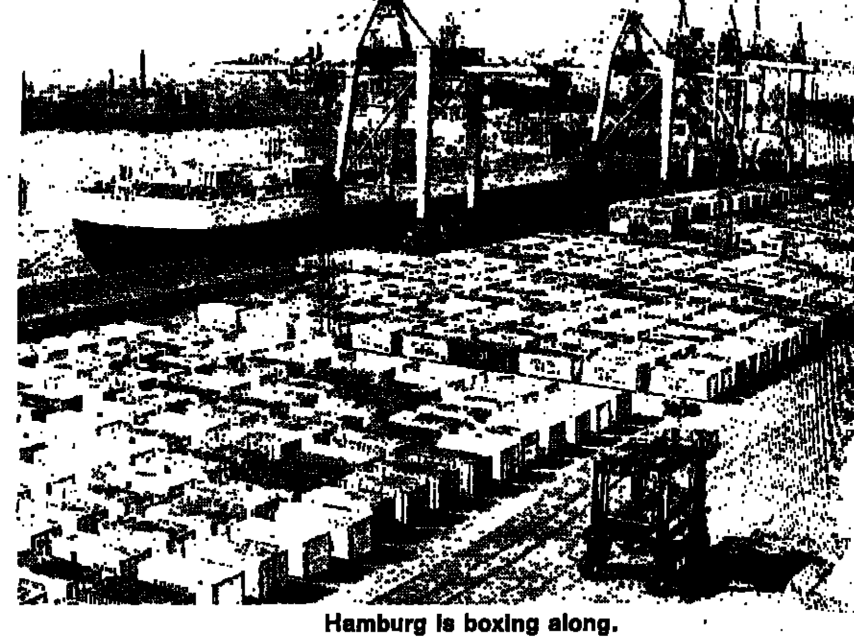
Last year bulk cargoes accounted for about 60 per cent of the volume, and general cargo was mainly containerised.

Hamburg is an important loading-discharging port for vessels operating in the Far East trade. It is ideal for access to the Common Market, the Efta and Comecon countries.

More than 40 per cent of containers handled in Hamburg carry merchandise from Japan, China, India, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore.

Hamburg port operators recognised the importance of the change in the transport system early on and made great efforts to be specialists in container handling.

Boxes were an opportunity to make up for Hamburg's disadvantages. Since the end of the Second World War the port has lost its hinterland in the east.



Hamburg is boxing along.

(Photo: [illegible])

Then the port had to compensate for the long way it lay up the Elbe, about 64 miles or 100 kilometres from the North Sea, in its competition with Rotterdam.

These disadvantages had to be made up for in some way, and logistics and distribution were introduced in the competition battle between ports.

Cargo going into a port now is no longer just unloaded but it is checked, transported to a warehouse or, if need be, processed and transported further on the instructions of the producer.

The cargo-handling company more and more controls and organises the movment of the mechandise from door-to-door. More and more companies put their trust for handling the transport of their merchandise in the hands of port operators.

The main warehouse for the Otto mail-order house is in Hamburg port, for instance, and so is the main raw materials depot for the Peine-Salzgitter steelworks.

Hamburg is the most important distribution centre in Europe for Japanese motor-cycle manufacturers.

To handle all these tasks swiftly and efficiently, Hamburg port operators set up a few years ago a communications system called Dakosy. This makes it possible for forwarding agents, quayside loading and unloading operators, shipping agents, the river police and the railways to exchange data.

Today every second general cargo consignment passes through Dakosy.

In April the Hamburg Port Operators Organisation asked its members what plans they had in mind for investment. According to this survey companies involved in general cargo handling intend to double their investment this year and increase it by 50 per cent in 1990.

Hamburg is a port with long traditions going back to the Hanseatic League. Previously business people in the city-port waited for developments before they considered with composure investment: today the business community is much more prepared to take risks for future advantage.

Companies operating in the port are concentrating mainly on containerised cargo and on the refinement of their logistics and distribution facilities. This is where there is the greatest potential for future growth.

The enormous funds, which are needed to meet the challenges of converting Hamburg into a port offering extensive handling facilities, have caused companies to move closer together over the past few years.

There are now in the port three main operators who have a dominating position in container handling: the city-owned Hamburger Hafen- und Lagerhaus-AG (HHLA), and the private companies Gerd Buss and Eurokai.

There is much discussion in the port of the effects of the single European market, scheduled to be set up in 1992. This will manifestly intensify the competition between North Sea ports.

The strong position Hamburg has achieved in trade with Scandinavia is of considerable benefit to the city. The opportunities for becoming an "intersection" for Scandinavian trade are good.

Over the past two years there has been a dramatic increase in the volume of Scandinavia cargo Hamburg has handled. This trade now accounts for more than 15 per cent of the total container volume.

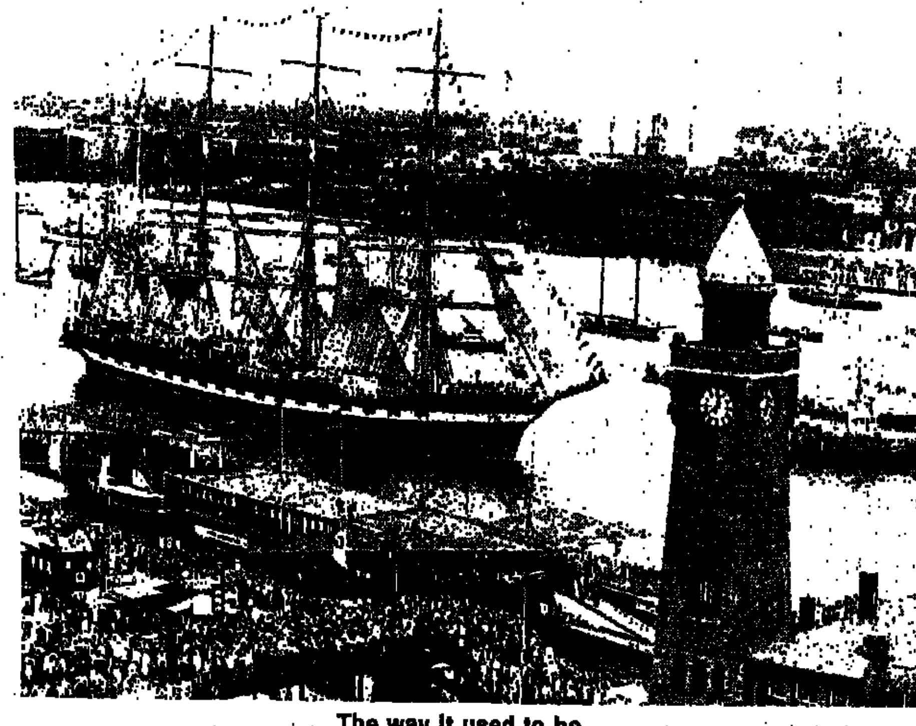
The figures for the first five months of this year show that Hamburg's decision to concentrate on container handling was the right one. While there has been a decline in bulk cargoes and the volume of conventionally-carried general cargo, container traffic has increased by five per cent.

It is expected that a similar growth rate will take place up to the year 2000. The Hamburg authorities are already planning the construction of another terminal.

The port's future image will include more containers and container-handling equipment. The sailing ships have a romantic air about them, but the future for the port lies in the piles of boxes that colour the port's container terminals.

Meite Thiede

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 17 July 1989)



The way it used to be.

(Photo: dpa)

Continued from page 5

cursor of the socialist German state. Franz Ludwig Graf Stauffenberg MEP, the resistance leader's son, wrote to Mayor Diepgen saying that unless the memorial was satisfactorily limited in scope his family and other next-of-kin would have to insist on the sections devoted to their fathers being withdrawn from the Bendlerblock for the sake of their unblemished honour.

The exhibition organisers refused to be browbeaten. Their staying power will benefit the many schoolchildren and young people who will hopefully learn from what they see at the exhibition.

Marianne Heuwagen

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 19 July 1989)

■ ENERGY POLICY

Pressure on government to end subsidies on coal for power production



The Federal government is in heavy weather with its coal policy. The European Commission in Brussels has categorically demanded the scrapping of subsidies that have been guaranteed for over 30 years.

The German government, or rather German electric power consumers, subsidise the domestic coal industry by paying a higher (than world market) price for coal contractually supplied to German power stations.

Neighbouring France would dearly like to export surplus electric power to Germany and is accordingly clamouring for derestriction of the European electric power market.

The Federal Republic of Germany's trading partners are increasingly criticising the coal protectionism of a country that is fond of making itself out at Gatt to be in the vanguard of the struggle for free world trade.

What is more, Bonn faces contradictory lines of domestic criticism, with some critics advocating a hard line toward Brussels on coal subsidies and others calling for the contract between the coal and power industries to be scrapped.

The Bonn Cabinet has so far nimbly sidestepped stating a viewpoint on the subject, postponing the debate from one month to the next.

It can no longer do so. A workable compromise must be agreed during the summer recess and submitted by the end of August at the latest.

Otherwise Bonn will forfeit much of its political leeway once Brussels starts to lay down the law or the European Court of Justice rules against Bonn, which it is almost sure to do.

Economic Affairs Minister Helmut Haussmann, FDP, is responsible for energy policy and, as a Liberal, has has difficulties with the topic.

Besides, some of his responsibilities overlap with those of Environment Minister Klaus Töpfer, who recently conferred on energy matters with his French counterpart and took an unexpected caning.

The French Environment Minister said deregulation of energy policy and a free flow of power exports to the German market must surely be a matter of course in the post-1992 European internal market.

Small wonder that more and more people are calling on the Chancellor to take the matter in hand. It involves even more than the livelihoods of roughly 150,000 German miners whose employers need clear framework conditions so they know where they stand after 1995, when the agreement with the power industry expires.

It is a matter of the structure of energy supplies in the Federal Republic, which are handled at present by a handful of utilities in a monopoly position.

The prices charged for energy supplies vary widely within the European Community, and that cannot continue to be the case in a common market, especially where industrial consumers are concerned.

Major customers at least can be sure to benefit from energy market competition, and both German power utilities and Bonn politicians would do well to get used to the idea in good time.

The result will be a particularly difficult situation for the German coal industry. The agreement which, it was hoped, would ensure the survival of the domestic coal industry has since 1980 succeeded only partially in saving jobs.

What is more, it and exacting environmental safeguards that are mandatory for coal-fired power stations make both coal and electric power extremely expensive, which tends to jeopardise jobs in other sectors.

The industry has yet to succeed in firing the proposed 45 million tons of power station coal a year or to make ends meet financially.

It is supposed to do so partly by means of an 8.5-per-cent surcharge consumers pay on their electricity bills to meet the extra cost of power stations using about 40 million tons of German coal a year.

The lower the world market price of oil is, the higher the offset levy to which power producers can lay claim.

At present this pressure has eased somewhat. Since last autumn crude oil prices have increased perceptibly, reducing the difference in cost between oil and domestic coal.

Many critics of the agreement feel this linkage between the prices of oil and coal is extremely dubious now atomic energy is increasingly replacing oil as a power station fuel.

In their view the relevant comparison is with the price of imported coal, which is a real eye-opener. A ton of imported coal costs DM90 at the border, as against DM262 per ton of German coal.

Australian Premier Bob Hawke, who recently visited Bonn, said subsidies of this order were, purely and simply, harmful to world trade, by which he doubtless had Australia, a major coal exporter, mainly in mind.

A country with such a high trading surplus as the Federal Republic, he said, could hardly afford to set up import barriers for its trading partners by means of such enormous financial support for home industry.

That was surely an issue for discussion at one of the next rounds of Gatt talks, as were agricultural exports.

For the Federal government this criticism is clearly significant in its quest for a compromise. But it must also be anxious to save as many jobs as possible down the mines.

The crucial issue on which politicians must arrive at a decision is how much domestic coal is to be fired by German power stations in the long term, i.e. after 1995.

The present target of 45 million tons a year has proved to be too high. A figure that is now going the rounds is a minimum of, say, 20 million tons a year that German power stations will be obliged to buy until the year 2010.

That, says energy expert Dieter Schmitt of Essen University, would halve the present cost to the economy, which amounts to between DM7bn and DM8bn a year.

As power consumption increases there would then be leeway for firing more imported coal and importing more electric power.

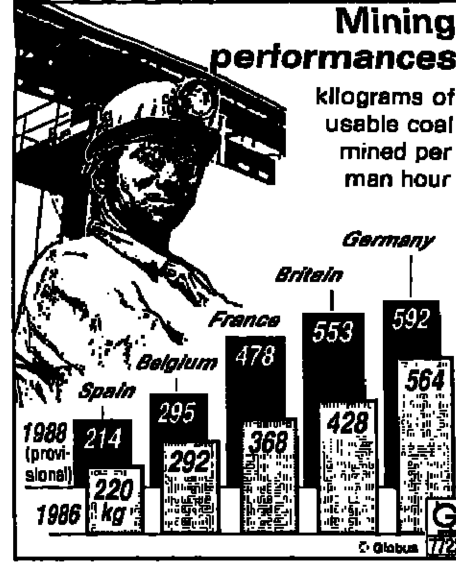
That would not amount to a fundamental market change. The Federal Republic boasts the most up-to-date, environment-friendly coal-fired power stations in Europe, and they can generate power inexpensively and competitively if only the price of their primary fuel is right.

If the power industry were to undertake to use 20 million tons of German coal a year the "coal surcharge" on electricity bills could be cut to five per cent, which should be sufficient to offset the difference between the cost of local and imported coal.

The *Länder* remote from German coalfields and their problems could hardly refuse to accept this compromise.

On the basis of 20 million tons a year the Federal government could then meet the European Community's demand and concentrate on genuinely competitive pits that need have no fear of productivity comparisons with, say, British Coal.

Britain is next in the Commission's line of fire. It too subsidises domestic coal, although its prices are only about 80 per cent higher than those of imported coal.



But the cost to the British economy is lower in comparison. Wage costs are lower than in the Federal Republic, and in most cases British mines have a higher yield.

The Commission's efforts to solve the problem of ending coal subsidies will be simplified by the proposed closure soon of the last Belgian pits and by further French mine shutdowns.

These closures naturally exact a high social cost, as do closures in shipbuilding and steel.

Embittered demonstrations in Brussels by Belgian miners have made this point more than clear.

The need to axe tens of thousands of mining jobs in the Federal Republic is not going to make it any easier to reach agreement on a modified, more flexible agreement with the power industry.

Gerd Achilles

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 14 July 1989)

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■ BUSINESS

Bosch goes for a course of expansion

The Bosch group is planning to expand its business and production abroad. Bosch chief Marcus Bierich has produced a far-reaching plan, not just taking in Europe.

He was not prepared to say whether expansion abroad would be achieved at the expense of the labour force at home.

This has not been the case so far, but whether this will be the case in the future is dependent on "how conditions at home develop in comparison with competing countries."

Last year the Bosch group employed 165,000 and turnover increased nine per cent to DM27.7bn. The group had no shortage of work, with 51 per cent of total turnover being achieved abroad.

The lion's share was chalked up in Europe: 83 per cent of business done abroad. Bosch now uses the European currency, the ecu, as the medium for its calculations.

Herr Bierich estimated that only eight per cent of production was achieved outside Europe. He pointed out that "we still export the great proportion of our manufactures from our European market instead of producing them in important sales areas, so long as there are no obstacles such as cost or quality problems standing in the way."

The Bosch factories have consistently followed markets. This is why Bosch intends to increase investment abroad and develop new markets.

Between 1984 and 1987 the proportion of investment abroad dropped from 30 to 22 per cent. This is to be changed.

Herr Bierich intends to increase foreign investment to 37 per cent of the total. The aim is to bring foreign production more into line with turnover.

Herr Bierich is convinced that the expansion will safeguard the market position in the Federal Republic.

This is why the international interlocking production arrangement is to be expanded. Factories will concentrate on specific products.

Herr Bierich said: "We shall not produce every item in our range at every production centre." Bosch intends to introduce an international division of activities and specialisation.

At the same time Marcus Bierich will aim for an international interlocking of



Accelerating with anti-skid brakes ... Bosch's Bierich. (Photo: Poly-Press)

research and development arrangements within the group.

Until now research and development has been concentrated in the Federal Republic. Standard products will be marketed worldwide, the concept followed up until now. Marcus Bierich intends to change that.

He is striving for decentralisation. He said: "We must adjust our products to respective markets." Customers' wishes must be met faster than previously.

The network of technical centres, where Bosch products are adjusted to respective markets, will be expanded further. One is in the planning stage in Japan. In a second phase products will be developed at this centre.

The group will continue to internationalise its personnel. Herr Bierich will be on the look out in future for managers worldwide. At present there are few foreigners working at an executive level in Bosch.

Marcus Bierich emphasised that international growth had been achieved mainly through new products. That had paid off.

Turnover in petrol injection systems has quadrupled between 1982 to 1988: there has been an average annual increase of 30 per cent to the present turnover of DM2.7bn.

In the same period turnover with anti-blocking systems (ABS — skid-prevention) has increased from DM100m to a billion deutschemarks.

Since only ten per cent of all cars in Europe, and six per cent in the world, are fitted with anti-blocking systems, ABS is a growth product.

Bosch management is happy with the results of the vehicle outfitting division,

Continued on page 9

Businesswoman of the Year shows she's not all at sea

Businesswoman of the Year Erika Bischoff was determined at 26 to take on her husband's job in the family firm.

He had died in a plane crash. She became a partner in the company, the Bruno Bischoff Shipping Co.

She spent much of her time at loggerheads with her father-in-law, the senior partner, who devoted most of his energy to projects that were unrelated to shipping.

Family disputes and public clashes made the decline and fall of the Bischoff Group seem inevitable — back in 1980.

Now, nine years later, Erika Bischoff owns and manages a group of four companies that have pioneered developments in maritime ties between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union.

The Bischoff Group is the undisputed leader in liner traffic between the two countries.

Above all, skeletons in the cupboard have been dealt with, financial bottlenecks have come and gone, and the company has a sound capital base on which to expand.

Businesswoman Erika Bischoff plans to invest in a proposed ferry link between Germany and Russia.

Flair

She is working on a hard-sell corporate strategy in the agency business to make sure her group is represented in all sectors of the existing market.

She has just been voted Businesswoman of the Year by a 20-member jury. The award is sponsored by Veuve Clicquot, the French champagne house.

Veuve Clicquot, incidentally, feels it owes much of its international repute to the foresight and creative flair of a businesswoman, the widow herself, who bought the right vineyards 250 years ago.

Erika Bischoff, née Lürssen, and Nicole Clicquot, née Ponsardin, who was 27 when her husband died suddenly in 1805, have much in common.

Frau Bischoff's father was a Bremen shipyard-owner. Her education was that of a girl of good family, i.e. nothing special.

She studied modern languages in Lausanne and Cambridge, then felt interior design might suit her. She trained at



Pioneered link with Russia... Bischoff's Bischoff. (Photo: Bischoff Gruppe)

a joiner's and a draughtsman's. Then, at 23, she married.

Her husband was the son of a Bremen shipowner and agent. They had two children. Like the venerable Veuve Clicquot, she was a widow at 26.

In 1980, when the Bischoff Group was in very heavy weather, a panel was set up to steer it clear of the rocks. Erika Bischoff served on it.

Bruno Bischoff, the owner, had his powers restricted. He died a year later.

The company was in such dire financial straits and shipping in general was in such poor shape that insiders felt the Bischoff Group was sure to fold.

Yet Erika Bischoff took over as business manager and ran the firm along partnership lines. Her style of management made the staff feel strong bonds of identity with the company.

She showed the courage of her conviction, invested in promising new trends. She sold ageing tonnage, ordered special ships for the trade, introduced computers and earned a reputation as a market pioneer.

The firm now has a payroll of 400. Last year's group turnover was about DM200m.

The Bremen-based group has branches in Hamburg, Frankfurt and Bremerhaven. It also owns or holds stakes in a number of shipping agencies in Scandinavia.

Ingeborg Toth

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 8 July 1989)

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■ CIVIL AVIATION

An airport plans improvements to handle a massive increase in air traffic

The Boeing 747 eventually rose into the sky, circled over Frankfurt and set off on course for Djakarta. It took off three hours late.

But there were still many passengers in the departure lounge sweating it out, waiting for their planes to depart.

Lufthansa planes get through DM100m of fuel a year circling the airport, waiting to be slotted in for landing.

There is little hope of seeing a punctual start on the computer-controlled flight information boards. Frankfurt Airport is like a gigantic bird with clipped wings.

The facts are spelled out in yellow letters: The flights to Belgrade, Amsterdam, Dakar, Prague, London, Milan and Paris are delayed.

It is going to be a hectic summer in Frankfurt this year. The German Association of Traffic Controllers is expecting as much in view of the enormous increase in flight movements, far beyond forecasts.

There was an increase of 9.1 per cent to 294,000 flight movements in 1988 compared with the previous year, with increasing delays during the summer holiday season.

It has been impossible to control the hectic development in the skies over Frankfurt, which has broken one record after another.

Nevertheless, according to Hans-Ulrich Ohl of the Frankfurt-based Federal Institute for Air Safety, passengers can look forward to safe flights this summer.

Herr Ohl's vocabulary does not include such words as chaos and breakdown of facilities. He believes these words are not applicable to the present situation in aviation.

But flight controllers have to work harder than last year, "continuously over long periods almost taxed too far," to guarantee aviation safety.

This has to be assessed if airports' capacities and air space available are not to be exhausted. This naturally has its effect on flight plans.

"If flight plans cannot be kept to then there are traffic pile-ups and the brakes have to be applied for aviation safety," Herr Ohl said, describing "this unpleasant cycle in which the irregular becomes the rule."

This is why Frankfurter Flughafen AG (FAG), the operating company, intends to pump in DM7bn into the air-

DIE WELT

port's facilities "to maintain and improve the airport's competitiveness, its operations and its services."

It plans to build another terminal, Terminal Ost, and to run a hovertrain shuttle service between terminals.

Frankfurt Airport handles 25.2 million passengers annually and is the largest in the Federal Republic, and in Europe second to London's Heathrow.

It is number one in Europe for handling air cargo. FAG management intends to defend this top position in the best interests of the 40,000 people the airport operating company employs.

FAG has had to correct its forecasts for the future upwards. By the year 2000 it is expected that there will be 343,000 flight movements in and out of Frankfurt. The airport will be handling 36.9 million passengers.

FAG chief Horstmar Stauber and Hesse's Economic Affairs Minister, Alfred Schmidt (FDP), take the view that this enormous traffic volume can be handled by the present take-off and landing system and the present facilities for handling passengers.

But there are official departments, responsible for guiding air traffic safely through the skies and handling it on earth, which are sceptical about this.

Herr Ohl contradicts the optimistic estimates of the government and FAG. He said: "The planned extensions to the airport will certainly not be sufficient to cope with the incessant boom."

He also said that it would be impossible to increase the present pattern of 64 take-offs and landings per hour to any extent.

This is why Herr Ohl's organisation favours the construction of a third, parallel runway, only two and a half kilometres long, south of the US Air Force base, as the best solution to the problem, paying due regard to technical safety.

Offically this point has not yet been taken up, but as Frankfurt Airport notches up one record after another the pressure increases on FAG and the government to come to a decision.

There is quite a different pressure in "area control" of the Federal Institute for Air Safety, responsible for the air space between Zürich and Kassel.

A storm front, building up over Hanau, shown in green on the radar screen in a criss-cross line, upset all the air lanes.

One trafic controller said: "No-one wants to go through this," pointing to the traffic buildup which had to be guided round the thunder and lightning.

The normal pulse beat on the radar screens reached "stress point." In the darkened, airconditioned room, where a few minutes all was calm, there was now plenty of adrenalin flowing. This is a normal day for Frankfurt Airport's air traffic controllers.

They are sent into retirement at the age of 53. Considering their training and responsibilities they are badly paid and lack motivation.

The top pay they can achieve is DM5,500 a month, although they have demands made on them similar to the pressures put on pilots, who are paid very much more.

It is not surprising then that Flight Safety complains of a lack of personnel.

For years air traffic controllers have waited for the politicians to keep their promises and privatise Flight Safety and to increase the pay of air traffic controllers handsomely.

A young female air traffic controller, in the job for ten years, said that no-one wants to do away with the "service according to the rules" argument. "But something must happen and soon."

A colleague gave a pained smile and pointed sarcastically to a notice above his radar screen. The notice read: "I like this job so much. I'd do it for nothing (Unfortunately they know that)."

The archaic make-up of Europe's air control system with its 40 control points and 22 various technical systems has long outlived its usefulness.

The capacities of the air lanes cannot be utilised to the full, because coordination does not function properly, coordination which could correct pile-ups involving air space over a number of countries and could propose alternatives.

It is not that the individual European flight safety controls do not operate effectively from a technical point of view; the problem is, according to insiders, "that they are not able to communicate with one another."

This situation prevails in a mode of transport in which frontiers in the skies are crossed at speeds of one thousand kilometres per hour.

It is only possible to improve the inefficient, particularist management of air space by introducing extensive traffic controls. Traffic experts maintain that in the end this is what must happen in European air space.

One expert said that unless this was not done quickly the situation would not be altered to any effective extent no matter what measures were introduced.

A total far-reaching reform is long overdue. The first step should be the government's agreement to privatise Flight Safety. The second step should be a wide-ranging renewal of technical systems which would involve an investment of DM900m.

Herr Ohl said: "We are in a period of radical change." In the area control offices of Frankfurt's air traffic controllers there is pinned up a notice which reads in large letters — and in English: "Take the chance '89."

Peter Scherer

(Die Welt, Bonn, 1 July 1989)

Continued from page 8

which still contributes, so far unmarred, to a half of turnover.

Bosch has noted that US car manufacturers increasingly produce for stock. But in Europe the industry continues to grow.

The Bosch people are not worried that there is a flood of diesel-powered cars in the Federal Republic. European exhaust limits for small cars, which come into effect in 1992, have already had a clear influence on demand for products involving petrol injection.

This is why there is a stress on expanding capacities within Bosch. Equipping cars is and remains the main emphasis of the Bosch group.

Of the DM2.4bn investment (up 23 per cent), planned for 1990, two-thirds is earmarked for the car sector.

Jens Peter Eichmeier

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 7 July 1989)

The flight that never was from Grevensbroich to New York

There is nothing unusual about a non-stop flight Frankfurt-New York: but what about Los Angeles-Grevenbroich?

Grevenbroich is about 15 kilometres south-east of Mönchengladbach. Its population is 59,000; it has a castle in the Flemish-Gothic style and two large coal-fired power stations.

The town almost got the largest airport in North Rhine-Westphalia. If post-war traffic planners had had their way trans-Atlantic jets would have been taking-off from a "Rhine-Ruhr" airport. But nothing came of the plans for a super-airport at Grevenbroich.

Chancellor Adenauer wanted an airport on the doorstep of the new capital of the Federal Republic, Bonn, and the capital of North Rhine-Westphalia, Düsseldorf, was not prepared to give up its 1927 plans for an airport.

This is how it happens that just 50 kilometres from one another there are two major airports, Düsseldorf's at Lohausen and the Cologne-Bonn Airport at Wahn.

Since the 1960s Düsseldorf's airport has expanded considerably. The Cologne-Bonn facility has for years been in the red, and has only just managed to struggle into the black.

But with only 103,000 landings and take-offs in 1988 "the airport is far from being utilised to capacity," according to the airport's spokesman, Hans Ley.

Düsseldorf, on the other hand, has more than 140,000 landings and take-offs per year and is almost at the limits of its capacities.

That is to be changed. Reimut Jochimsen, North Rhine-Westphalia Economic Affairs Minister, said that it was still possible to revive the idea of a "Rhine-Ruhr" airport.

Participating shareholders have set up a holding company. This summer an interim contract will be concluded. The two major airports, Düsseldorf and Cologne-Bonn, will be operated under an umbrella organisation.

Because of the increasing importance of regional air traffic the small airports at Essen/Mülheim, Mönchengladbach and Siegburg-Hangelar, will be included in the holding company.

The joint management will be obliged to set the course of investment and to coordinate flight planes.

In this way the airbase "Rhine-Ruhr" can been promoted to being number two in the country, after Frankfurt.

The plans for cooperation of this sort are not new — but the pressure for cooperation has never before been so great as it is today.

Air traffic is growing at the rate of two digit points per year and, according to a forecast from the International Air Transport Association (IATA), it will be doubled by the year 2000.

At the same time competition among European airports will increase. "If North Rhine-Westphalia is to remain competitive in this situation, the competition between Düsseldorf and Cologne-Bonn must end," said Volkmar Schultz, deputy SPD parliamentary leader in the Düsseldorf state assembly.

The number of competitors is considerable. There is Frankfurt and Munich as well as competitors abroad. Belgium and Holland are expanding their airport facilities at considerable cost.

Up to the year 2000 at least DM600m is to be invested in Brussels Airport. The Dutch plan to pour into Amsterdam Airport DM1.2bn over the same period.

Volkmar Schultz pointed out that Amsterdam, Maastricht and Brussels attracted at least 300,000 passengers a year from North Rhine-Westphalia.

This is not surprising, he said, since they offered well-built airports, short

Continued on page 10

■ **EXHIBITIONS**

The clunking march of mechanical art



The fascination with robots, androids, mechanical men; and with the mechanical movement of artificial bodies, machines similar to man, is as old as man's enthusiasm for invention.

This fascination reached its highest point in the person of Leonardo da Vinci, artist, engineer and inventor in one.

It stretches from the chess-playing Turks of Baron von Kempelen, and the bell-striking *jacquemarts* of the 18th and 19th century, through literature and art directly into the 20th century, where people and machines have apparently fallen into an insoluble conflict.

Charlie Chaplin's film sequence of the worker as victim of the voracious machine and the hissing steam colossus in the underworld of the metropolis are metaphors of a technology which has gone out of human control.

The machine into which life has been breathed as an anti-type to the dehumanised underworld could also be seen in Steven Spielberg's *Star Wars*. The two chrome-gleaming robots R2D2 and C3PO had human emotions and their electronic blackout turned out to be a hero's tragic death.

Artists have for ages been fascinated by the manipulable artificial creations, by their tough energy, their pitiless mechanised movements and their emotional indifference.

At the same time the belief in technology and mechanisation, as the epitome of progress, has made of the machine a positive symbol of a new, rational epoch.

For the first time Sigfried Giedion used the principle of mechanisation as a kind of synthesis of epochs for the significance to the culture of the 20th century in his book *Die Herrschaft der Mechanisierung*, (The dominance of mechanisation), published in 1941.

His thesis was that between the methods of progressive thought and retarded feelings there was a small chasm, pointing to a duality of civilisation, which has become fertile for the fine arts.

The fission between thoughts, dominated by technology, and feelings, for the main part uncontrolled, is the theme that art in the 20th century has marched through for long stretches.

MaschinenMenschen is the title of an exhibition which the Neuer Berliner Kunstverein has put on at the State Art Gallery.

It is concerned in the widest possible sense in the history of artificial men in the 20th century, about "the mechanisation of the human, and about making mechanical forms anthropomorphic," as Eberhard Roters put it in the catalogue trying to summarise the exhibition.

Marcel Duchamps is the progenitor of such artificial creations and figures in the exhibition.

He ennobled the raw material from industrial production with his "readymades."

He produced the treatise for Dada and surrealism with his famous bachelor machines: the act of procreation and creation seen as mechanical art production, without human forms but similar to man.

His works stand at the beginning of a long series of human and machine metamorphoses, which reached into the present via the futurists, Dada, the surrealists and Bauhaus.

The exhibition is made up of 109 exhibits; only 11 of them are really mobile art machines, the rest are immobile objects and sculptures, marionettes and figures: most of the exhibits are pictures and drawings.

Whether moveable or immoveable, motorised or electronically-powered, they strive to provoke thought.

The theme becomes more vivid by reading the very readable catalogue than by going round the exhibition.

Touring the exhibits increasingly gives the impression, that the installation of the *MaschinenMenschen*, costly from a technical and space-occupied point of view, has strained the budget, so that the oversensitive gaps could only be filled with series of drawings.

In addition the exhibition is not arranged chronologically, which is what one would have expected, since it deals with the history of artificial people.

The thematic relationships of the objects, one to another, are not always clearly discernible. The visitor, therefore, goes from object to object, but not from experience to knowledge.

Three works open the exhibition which successfully demonstrate the extent of variety in the exhibition's theme.

There is Tinguely's indefatigable, rotating and clattering scrap metal machine, his "Chavelier à la rose." This exhibit perhaps projects most clearly of all Duchamp's message of objects presenting themselves and noisily exposes in its meaningless movement the illusion of progress at the same time.

Nearby is Konrad Klapheck's factual portrait of a machine, which only gains alarming dimensions through the picture's title, *Die Supermutter*, as in Wolfgang Petrick's *Kopfzwänge* of an ensnared laboratory animal, which releases emotions against technology and research.

Women set the tone of the exhibition on the lower floor of the State Art Gallery.

Marie Jo Lafontaine's well-known video installation, *Les larmes d'acier*, shown at the last *documenta* exhibition in Kassel, is produced with 26 screen pictures showing an athlete on the bars of a training machine.

It represents a dream and nightmare of male sexuality and a tightrope walk between aesthetics and kitsch, pathetically underlined by symphonic music and coloratura arias.

Beside Friederike Petzold's *Königin der Nacht*, an ice-cold woman's machine fortified with iron, there are Rebecca Horn's installations, optical high points in the exhibition on the lower floor.

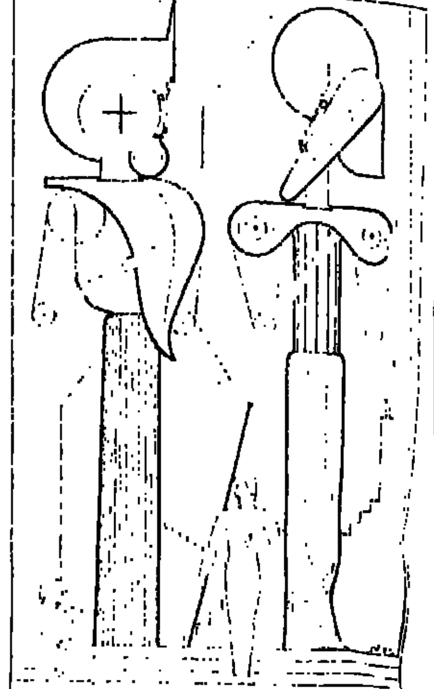
Her mirror-decorated *Kabinett der Spechte* and her new *Malmaschine*, a mechanical device, which with long, pensive pauses immerses a brush in paint and then slings it against the wall — the mechically-driven painting process is ritualised creativity.

In the upper storey there are series of drawings and groups of pictures, locked away in cabinets, which are a beautiful dumb backdrop for the less dominating mechanical human beings.

Here important, complex themes are brought together such as the Oskar Schlemmer Bauhaus designs and the characters of his Triadic Ballet, as well as a series of Klapheck and Petrick pictures.

But this well-known material seems to be collected together for such an exhibition as a matter of duty, an exhibition lacking in convincing, contemporary pictorial examples.

Only the automatic *Maschinen Menschen*, or mechanical individuals, like creations squeezed into the bodywork of a car, by Joachim Bandau, are able to bring the theme into the present.



Die beiden Pathetiker, Oskar Schlemmer, 1923. (Photo: catalogue)

So, in its way, did Stephan von Huene's *Erweiterter Schwitters*, a puppet acting and speaking in a black theatre room; its mechanical body language accompanies Kurt Schwitters' *Ursonate* with its mechanically alienated and shredded sound.

Here, in the link between computerised analog language, which is incomprehensible, but which is connected to language experience, and forms of variation developing automatically themselves, the language sculpture by Huene refers to artificial intelligence and thinking machines on the frontiers of technology and art, which only a few artists wish to enter.

There are hardly any links to be forged between this work, which vividly presents the reception of mechanisation through modern art, to the clinking battalions of John Whiting's *Unnatural Bodies*, pneumatically-driven scrap metal monsters, which present a machine horror show in the pumping plant at Moabit in Berlin, the second venue for the exhibition.

At least it will be clear here that the exhibition, with the large self-moving installations, can only give a limited selection from the wide range of mechanical art.

Nevertheless it is worth visiting this exhibition.

Barbara Gaehtgens

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 14 July 1989)

Continued from page 9

waiting times and excellent air connections. Düsseldorf could soon be left standing. Last summer alone thousands of holidaymakers had to wait for hours due to overcrowding in Düsseldorf's air space. Planes had to circle waiting for clearance to land.

When in October a Lufthansa Boeing overshot the runway and had its nosewheels stuck in mud, the Federal Republic's largest charter airport came to a complete halt for hours on end. Düsseldorf has only one landing and takeoff runway available.

The *Land* government of North Rhine-Westphalia has decided to have a second runway built at Lohausen, but it will not be ready until 1991.

Yet it will only top up present facilities. It will not extend capacities. Furthermore it is too short at only 3,000 metres; long-haul jets, fully-loaded with fuel, cannot take off from such a runway.

This means that non-stop flights to Los Angeles or Sydney are not possible from Düsseldorf.

The cooperation between Cologne-Bonn and Düsseldorf does offer the possibility of a solution. Cologne-Bonn already has three runways, one 3.5 kilometres long, long enough for long-haul international flights.

If they achieve a viable working relationship intercontinental flights could be handled at Cologne-Bonn, medium-haul flights at Düsseldorf.

One of the basic requirements for successful cooperation for a "Rhine-Ruhr" airport would be fast traffic links between the two airports.

Johannes Rau, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, favours the high-speed hovertrain Transrapid: the *Land* would share in the financing of such a link.

Consideration is also being given to the ICE Intercity Express rail link between the Ruhr-Frankfurt, operated by the Bundesbahn, West German Railways. Volkmar Schultz said that it was essential that the over-ground rail link from Cologne and Bonn to the Cologne-Bonn Airport, demanded for a long time, should be built.

Until now there have only been buses from local bus services covering these routes.

There are problems in the distribution of participation in the planned holding company. The city and federal state each have 50 per cent of the equity of Flughafen Düsseldorf GmbH.

Central government, the federal state, Cologne and Bonn, and the Rhine-Sieg district and Rheinisch-Bergish district participate in the equity of the Cologne-Bonn Airport operating company.

The cities and districts would gladly relinquish influence. Volkmar Schultz said that central government and the federal state would have the say about operations.

But Düsseldorf fears above all things that its considerable profits from the flourishing airport operationg company would go down.

But despite all the difficulties everyone involved knows that there is no way round cooperation.

Several companies are not just standing idly by as the pressure builds up at Lohausen. They have drawn the consequences.

LTU, the Federal Republic's largest charter company with headquarters at Düsseldorf Airport, has operated some of its flights from Cologne-Bonn since winter. More are to follow.

Some travel agents have also taken note of the complaints from holidaymakers about delays at Düsseldorf Airport.

They have taken the advertising slogan of the neighbouring aiport to heart: "Come, fly from Cologne-Bonn."

Lufthansa has followed suit and will operate more flights from Cologne-Bonn in future.

Klaus Jackisch

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, July 1989)

■ **THE ARTS**

Karajan: the genius of a Salzburg Prussian

Herbert von Karajan parted from the Berlin Philharmonic in May this year. For him his disagreements with the Berlin Senate had reached the end.

Even if he had wanted to return to the place where he had achieved his greatest successes, he is no longer able to do so.

He died at his home near Salzburg, aged 81, the day after having attended rehearsals for this year's Salzburg Festival.

He has been buried in the churchyard of the parish church at Anif, just outside Salzburg, as he wished.

Sir George Solti will conduct *Un Ballo in Maschera* at this year's Salzburg Festival, and on 10 September the Berlin Philharmonic will give a memorial concert to Karajan in Berlin's Philharmonie, conducted by Carlo Maria Giulini.

The concert will begin with Richard Strauss's *Metamorphosen*, much beloved by Karajan. It will be performed without a conductor

Up to the end Karajan created brilliant music and enjoyed the good life to the full.

His interpretations seemed to be eternally young and he remained steadfastly faithful to the enthusiasms of his youth, fast cars, flying and an interest in all kinds of technology.

Growing old he found difficult and he heroically held up his head against physical decline.

His sumptuous art was admired by everyone. Although he seemed to be one of natures favoured ones he had to struggle heroically, however, against physical infirmity in his last years.

But he was not too eager to make confessions about his private life. He was and remained to the end a Salzburg Prussian.

He only did what he saw to be his duty; to create for his musical ideals the greatest possible public response and not for his own fame.

He was one of the first to recognise the significance to music of modern technology. By means of this technology he wanted to make the best music available to everyone.

He wanted to make available to millions and millions without limitation an élite musical culture.

He succeeded. It was of little importance to him that his name was linked to international music.

Of all famous conductors he was surprisingly the most inaccessible. Making a great show, which conductors are condemned to do because of their profession and which some secretly enjoy, was for him tiresome.

Karajan always regarded himself as a part of his orchestra, and that was, almost to the end, the Berlin Philharmonic.

His fame appeared to mean little to him. He was a fanatical worker, and perhaps one of the last great aesthetes of the musical world.

Karajan was a man of extreme sensitivity for the colour of sound, seamless transitions, raising music up until it touched the blue skies.

He liked to disregard the explosive force of rhythm. He was a gourmet of the eternal melody and he liked to track it down as no other.

Karajan explored music with the assiduity of an insatiable connoisseur. He was a Don Juan of sound, who as soon as he had conquered moved on; a sensualist, whose like music had not before known.

He came from a musical but rather modest background. He was born in Salzburg, but he worked in the theatre at Ulm, of all places, year in year out, so long in fact that eventually he was kicked out.

His talent seemed too great to the valiant Ulm theatre manager to atrophy in the shadow of the Ulm Cathedral.

Nevertheless in Ulm he learned a professionalism which few possessed. In an era of fast careers he had the advantage over most of his competitors of a tough apprenticeship. He worked his way up in his profession of orchestra conductor.

Right up to the end he was attached to Ulm and he was gracious enough to be thankful to the city for the whole of his life for what he learned there.

During the Nazi period he was Germany's youngest musical director and drew attention to himself in Aachen for the first time.

He took Berlin by storm. At first he conducted at the Opera House then he took over the concerts given by the Prussian State Orchestra.

The orchestra's concerts under his direction were quickly at such a high artistic level that they were competing for public favour with the concerts of his rival, Furtwängler.

Even then he was a hot-head. His concert programmes were notable for their elegance and refinement. When people like to say today that the resistance (against Hitler) met at Furtwängler's concerts, this was fundamentally true of Karajan's concerts.

In his artistic approach, in his musical aesthetics he was a contradiction in person of all the Nazis stood for.

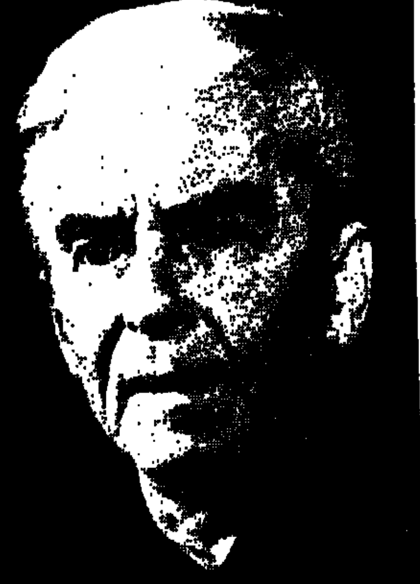
Karajan did not preach music. He did not indoctrinate, he enjoyed music seductively to the full. Against the heroic in music he placed the sensual.

His long residence in Italy and his work at La Scala, Milan, made him into an advocate of bel canto in orchestral sound.

Where others were seeking for musical profundity, Karajan sang because he had effortlessly found profundity with seductive sound from his orchestra.

For a long time he was Europe's maestro. He was at home in every city, committed to every top orchestra, the Vienna State Opera, the Salzburg Festival, the London Philharmonic Orchestra and the Lucerne Festival.

That only changed when he took over the Berlin Philharmonic in succession to



Heroic in face of physical decline . . . Herbert von Karajan. (Photo: dpa)

Furtwängler, and was almost exclusively in charge of the orchestra for a quarter of a century.

He cut himself off from all other commitments and concentrated his work on his dream orchestra.

He made it into the most important orchestra making recordings in the world. Linked to himself he introduced the orchestra to television and festivals. In a twinkling of an eye the orchestra conquered the world.

He showed that there was a place for music in television, not just on the radio. He won for music an undisputed place in the media.

In this connection he was way ahead of the sharpest thinkers of his time, and dismissed point-blank into the realm of the risible their artistic-sociological theories, often imprudently.

Karajan was a practical man and he knew better than all the theoreticians and he remained a practical man until the end. Debates bored him stiff.

He wanted to make music in his way and did not allow himself to be diverted. He was a lonely man, but it was the loneliness of the exceptional.

He knew that he was not understood. He knew that he was admired, but not beloved. But he went his way unflustered to the end. He had an unshakeable artistic vision and knew how to communicate it. It made him the common property of a whole generation.

Certainly another will emerge after him. But he will be for a long time measured against Karajan's perfection. Karajan enthusiastically promoted young people with talent. In the most casual way he has made the succession to the Philharmonic Orchestra difficult.

Klaus Geitel

(Die Welt, Bonn; 17 July 1989)

Flitting fairies in an early Wagner opera

Five years ago, when the Munich Opera Festival put on all Richard Wagner's dramatic works, *Die Feen* (The Faeries) was only given in a concertante performance.

Friedrich Meyer-Oertel has now produced this opera, composed by Wagner when he was 20, at Munich's Theater am Gärtnerplatz.

This first performance of Wagner in this theatre has been a triumphant success. The plot is freely arranged from Carlo Gozzi's *La Donna serpente*. The fairy Ada falls in love with a mortal, King Arindal. At their wedding she forbids him to ask her, or try to discover, anything about her origins.

Arindal breaks his pledge and loses Ada, who is turned into a stone. But Arindal eventually rescues her by the force of his love and is united with her as a fairy himself.

Producing this opera calls for the deployment of considerable technical and musical forces. This is why most theatres decline putting on this early Wagner work, although the score, influenced by Mozart, Beethoven, Weber and Marschner, is a stroke of genius by the young Wagner.

Thematically it anticipates *The Flying Dutchman*, but it also contains elements which point the way to *The Ring* and *Parsifal*.

The orchestra at the Theater am Gärtnerplatz showed itself as a qualified ensemble for Wagner. Conductor Reinhard Schwarz had under his baton an enthusiastic orchestra, vibrantly able to maintain the opera's tension.

The score was hardly cut at all, more complete than the Orfeo recording under Sawallisch, and more extensive than the few productions of the work which have been put on so far.

Director Meyer-Oertel mounted this opera eight years ago in Wüppertal with references to Wagner's own life. In Munich his production was impressive in the crowd scenes and the soloists were psychologically gripping.

The world of humans in Dieter Flimm's kinetic sets transposed to the late 19th century and the post-war period had moments of irony: the world of the fairies had a futuristic touch to it. What had gone before was told in pantomime in the middle of the overture.

The fairies were presented in erotic costumes designed by Maria Lucas and the ballet was meaningfully choreographed by Susanne Linke.

A cumbersome group of extras in pink T-shirts, platform shoes and on stilts were the male counterparts to the faeries, gnomes and goblins.

The singers had powerful voices and took delight in their acting. The "Heldentenor," Alexander Stevenson, as Arindal, did well, only flagging towards the end when his role became taxing.

Carolle Enkelmann was convincing as Lora, as was Richard Salter as Morald, although rather flat in the top register.

Christa Ranacher as Ada was dramatic and seductive and filled the role well as did Hans Sisa as Groma. Eva-Christine Reimer and Martin Hausberger were good as the comic couple Drolla and Gernot.

The four-hour-long performance can be regarded as a milestone in theatre history and is a milestone in the history of the interpretations of this early Wagner opera.

Peter P. Pachl

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 12 July 1989)



Kinetic sets and wire pulling in Wagner's *Die Feen*. (Photo: Rabanus)

■ CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

Growing debate on the nature of man's relationship with other creatures

Animals, the Bonn Cabinet has decided, are no longer to be legally regarded as inanimate objects. The Civil Code is to be amended to classify them as "living beings that feel pain" and as "fellow-creatures."

The proposal must be debated in Parliament before a longstanding dispute on animal rights and man's responsibility for animals can be regarded as having arrived at a conclusion.

It is, for instance, a dispute over whether animals should be bred for the manufacture of luxury items.

In 1980 Roman Catholic bishops ruled, in a declaration entitled "Future of Creation — Future of Mankind," where the borderline between the permissible and the impermissible use of animals is.

"We humans," the bishops stated, "are entitled to use the lives and products of animals, but there can be no justification of animals, which are feeling creatures, being tortured and killed for no serious reason, such as merely for pleasure or to manufacture luxury products."

Fashion furs out

The bishops didn't specify what they felt was impermissible, but as both denominations, Roman Catholic and Protestant, refer to this statement in connection with pending regulations on fur-bearing animals, the manufacture of fashion furs must presumably be deemed impermissible.

A conference held in September 1988 by the World Council of Churches arrived at the same conclusion; it also rejected on ethical grounds products from animals bred in factory conditions.

As ethical standards must be logical and consistent — and make criteria clear — all activities must be specified that are generally impermissible because they don't make sufficient sense.

Luxury products include both fashion furs and other varieties of leather and other products that are made from animals killed for this sole purpose.

By the same criterion the manufature of natural silk is questionable, as is



the production of delicatessen foods such as *foie gras*, or fatted goose liver, frogs' legs, turtle soup and crustaceans that aren't killed painlessly.

Views naturally differ on what constitutes luxury, where normal needs end and the superfluous, luxury item begins.

This question is occasionally raised in connection with how legitimate the desire for jewellery is; a desire that can hardly be seen, in isolation, as immoral.

The crucial aspect is whether breeding *and killing animals to satisfy this* desire is acceptable. Fashion furs and crocodile leather handbags, for instance, are generally felt to be unnecessary.

The desire to produce something superfluous is ethically neutral, but unacceptable when it involves pain to or the death of fellow-creatures.

A number of leisure activities that involve or consist of torturing or killing animals must be deemed ethically unacceptable too. They definitely include bull fighting and hunting in which animals are hunted to death or caught in traps.

Angling is unacceptable too as a *sport rather than as a livelihood.* Why should anglers be allowed to torture and kill fish for no good reason?

Last year two anglers were fined — the first ever so fined by a German court — for organising an angling competition.

Understandably, but unfairly, animal-lovers uncritically and superficially vent their ire on people who do the jobs in question.

They are only doing for a living what society wants or tolerates and the courts have not, or not yet, condemned with sufficient clarity.

We must not forget that most people who are involved in maltreating animals as part of their job had no occasion to question the practice when they took on the work.

If anyone is mainly to blame in these circumstances, then surely it is those who claim to be the arbiters of ethics but failed to speak out when they ought to have done so in the name of humanity.

A crucial aspect of justice is that it must be done to everyone, and not just to a select few, who suffers from unfair treatment.

A group must not be neglected just because "they're only animals."

Many people see this precept as impermissibly equating man and animals. They fail to realise that justice is not mandatory only among those of equal status.

It is no less mandatory toward one's inferiors, dependents and minors, people in no position to claim their due and often unaware what it is, such as people in a coma, the mentally ill, infants or unborn babies.

Animals, as feeling fellow-creatures, cannot justifiably be denied this justice other than on social Darwinist grounds (the survival of the fittest) or with reference to an exaggeratedly anthropocentric humanism that sees mankind as the "measure of all things" and the rest of nature as at its disposal.

The argument that animals have never had rights in our civilisation does not hold water. There has always been an ethical duty to be just, and to see that justice is done even to those who formally enjoy no rights. What point would there otherwise have been in requiring the knights of the Middle Ages to look after the outlaws and the helpless?

Biblical tradition unquestionably has it that man is the master of animals, but *does that justify* breeding them in conditions that amount to torture or conducting experiments on them for profit?

Unless you advocate a master-race morality there is only one inference to be drawn from man's superiority: the duty to take care of others.

Justice does not, by any stretch of the imagination, require animals invariably to be given human treatment.

The principle of equal treatment as it has taken shape in the evolution of civilisation and now reigns supreme has two aspects: equal treatment of the equal and different treat*ment of the* different.

All adults have the same *voting* rights but pay different tax rates in relation to their incomes.

By the same token, justice to man and animals requires equal treatment where requirements are the same and different treatment where requirements differ.

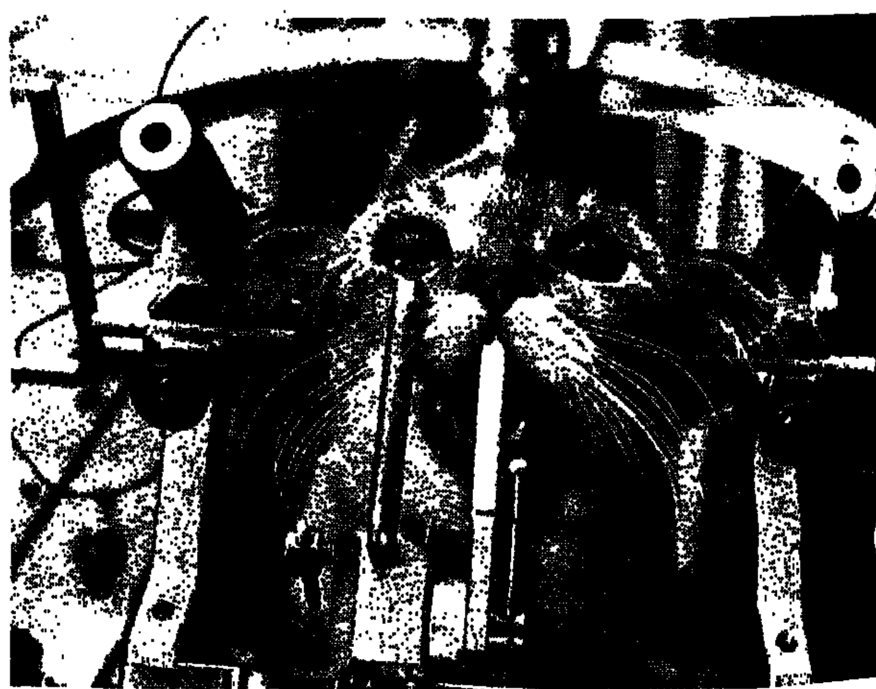
The last word has not yet been said on the ethics of relations between man and animals. The debate is still in its early days.

That may be regrettable, but there are hopes that the conflict will not defy solution.

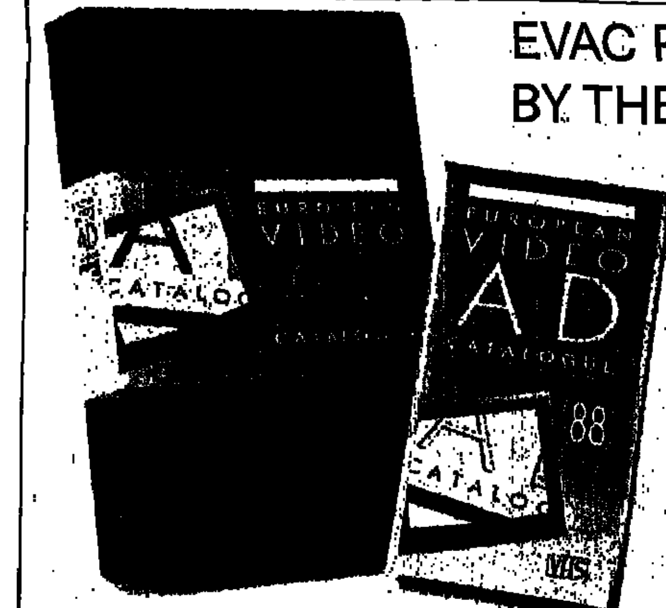
The call for justice for man *and* animals hopefully includes a chance of rapprochement between the two viewpoints.

Gotthard M. Teutsch

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 14 July 1989)



Who said it could be maltreated? (Photo: dpa)



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■ HEALTH

State drug-supply plan to beat racketeers

Hamburg's 33rd drug fatality this year was a 15-year-old girl who died of a heroin overdose.

The 34th victim was a 25-year-old woman who died in a public lavatory in Wohlwillstrasse, St Pauli, a stone's throw from the Reeperbahn and the red-light district.

Five thousand people are said to be hard drug addicts in the city. Hamburg's heroin turnover, about 500kg, or half a ton a year, is worth DM100m.

Last year the police confiscated 19kg, or 42lb. Crimes committed to come by cash with which to buy drugs have sent criminal statistics into a flat spin.

Mayor Henning Voscherau says there are signs that children are increasingly being weaned on to hard drugs to make sure there is an ongoing sales market.

In 1988 the first addicts aged under 14 consulted local authority services for advice and assistance.

This is the background against which Social Democrat Voscherau has come up with a headline-hitting proposal. Why not set up a "state narcotics monopoly" to break the stranglehold of a drug mafia that "earns" an estimated DM1bn a year around the world?

What he has in mind is not just to decriminalise the purchase and possession of narcotics for personal consumption but to have "state-authorised agencies issue drugs."

"Provided state distribution is not limited to the issue of drugs and they are injected on the spot at the outpatients' department or the doctor's practice," the Hamburg proposal states, "the health hazard of needle-sharing could also be avoided, thereby making a substantial contribution toward stemming the tide of Aids."

This concept, drawn up and discussed by the Hamburg authorities,

Frankfurter Allgemeine

forms part of a package of proposed amendments to the Federal Narcotics Act.

Explaining the idea behind this proposal, Mayor Voscherau said the dealer's motivation to wean new consumers on to hard drugs would be nil because pushers could then no longer be sure these young people would continue to do business with them for the rest of their (brief) lives.

A state narcotics monopoly would be to the lasting detriment of organised crime's market position because illegal drug dealers would stand to lose many of their clients.

Besides, the exact dose of state-administered heroin would tend to lengthen the addict's life by largely ruling out the risk of a fatal overdose.

Mayor Voscherau said that he was not given to overhasty decisions and had endorsed the concept after lengthy consideration because the situation was so serious that there was no other solution.

The white paper lists objections to a state monopoly of narcotic drugs, such as ethical misgivings about the state playing an active part in consolidating addiction and its consequences.

Narcotics procurement by the state is said to be ruled out, or at least made more difficult, by the UN convention on narcotics, which limits imports and exports.

The state would need to manufacture synthetically the drugs required for this purpose, and the mere fact that addicts were officially supplied with drugs could prompt users to become recognised addicts so as to qualify for a regular supply.

Interested parties of all kinds both at home and abroad would be attracted to any such scheme. Yet if clients were limited to certain categories, an illicit market would promptly take shape again.

Last not least, controlled doses injected in the sterile atmosphere of an outpatients department or a doctor's surgery would lack the appeal of a shared illicit experience, arguably prompting a number of addicts to continue to use the illegal market.

The alarming drugs situation in Hamburg has led the municipal authorities to make further proposals on fighting the growing of narcotics crops, on closer bilateral cooperation with the main countries of origin and transit and on sending out more liaison officers.

The justice department is to consider being less strict in the prosecution of minor criminal offences by drug addicts.

The public prosecutor might, for instance, be given greater leeway to consider the merits of the case or to attach greater importance to the concepts of therapy rather than a prison sentence and therapy rather than a criminal prosecution.

At present two out of three juveniles and young adults in custody and awaiting trial in Hamburg are on remand in connection with drug offences or offences committed to procure drugs.

Hamburg is in favour of confiscating the assets of convicted drug dealers and of fiscal secrecy being waived in connection with narcotics trading.

Last not least, consideration must be given to substitute drugs such as Methadon for heroin and to amending the law to make the purchase and possession of small amounts of narcotics by addicts no longer a criminal offence.

Justice Senator Wolfgang Curilla sees these moves as helping the law enforcement agencies to concentrate on fighting the narcotics trade rather than small fry. The number of prosecutions of dealers has increased so rapidly that they can no longer be effectively prosecuted by the manpower available, or so the white paper says.

The waiting list of cases pending is so long that there is a serious risk of offenders having to be released from custody before they are tried and sentenced.

Since 1986 the number of investigations in connection with narcotics offences has increased by 68.5 per cent in the city, with 130 cases pending at the five courts that handle serious offences.

Immediate measures proposed include setting up an extra narcotics unit at the public prosecutor's office and extra courts to handle cases. New appointments are to be made to help and advise drug addicts in jail.

Mayor Voscherau and Senator Curilla are agreed, however, that Hamburg alone cannot solve the drugs problem. It is, they say, a matter for the Federal government and for international approaches to a solution.

In the final analysis Herr Voscherau sees only one option: "to break the neck and eliminate the incentive of international market mechanisms of the narcotics trade, geared as it is to maximising profits."

In Hamburg an attempt is to be made to tackle the drugs problem more seriously at school and, to quote Mayor Voscherau, "to break the vicious circle of silence" that prevents schoolchildren on the brink of becoming drug addicts from being spotted in time.

The muncipal authorities hope to help by backing a number of projects set up to help prostitutes under the age of 18, juvenile male streetwalkers and boys and girls who run a serious risk of becoming addicted.

Welfare agencies are requested to help set up ward and outpatient units to treat young drug addicts in the city. At present such facilities are said to exist only in south Germany.

Eckhart Kauntz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 July 1989)

Stricter control of medicines and side-effects urged

Some people have long been known to be allergic to penicillin and other antibiotics. Acetylsalicyclic acid, an ingredient of aspirin and other painkillers, has long been known to cause stomach bleeding.

The same cannot be said of all the undesirable side-effects of medicinal drugs, and German doctors last year prescribed 800 million packages, roughly *100 million* more than the year before.

This figure does not include drug consumption at hospital or sales of drugs that are available over the counter without a doctor's prescription.

A special commission on medicinal drugs in Cologne has set itself the task of ensuring that pills, drops and injections are prescribed better, less indiscriminately and in smaller quantities.

The commission, its work financed by the General Medical Council, runs a number of projects. They include a kind of "early warning system" for the medical profession.

Experts are agreed that the risk of serious undesirable side-effects can never be ruled out, especially where newly-licensed drugs are concerned.

They may have been clinically tested before being licensed, but the numbers of patients and the periods of observation are *insufficient to spot infrequent* side-effects.

Years, and even decades, can elapse before risks of this kind are identified in connection with drugs that are already in use.

The commission is determined to close this gap. Since 1962 it has collected and filed reports of undesirable side-effects notified by fellow-practitioners and manufacturers.

General practitioners and hospital doctors can consult a competent dashboard manned round the clock by dialling a number in Herbert-Lewin-Strasse, Cologne.

Callers not infrequently include doctors from intensive treatment wards who feel unsure about the cause of symptoms that suddenly occur in patients and wonder whether drugs prescribed might be to blame.

Files are checked for similar cases and experts consulted, say Dr Karl Heinz Kimbel and Dr Beate Mathias, business manager and assistant manager of the Cologne commission.

Almost every case can be cleared up in a day. The Federal Health Office and the manufacturer are notified whenever a drug is suspected of having an undesirable side-effect. Doctors are warned too.

The commission regularly briefs the medical profession on precautions and the instructions included with packages of drugs on which reports have been received. But, as Dr Kimbel points out: "We aren't an official body, we can only make recommendations."

Last year 11,000 reports were received, notifying the commission of roughly 17,000 undesirable side-effects of medicinal drugs.

In 1987 the figures were 10,369 and nearly *16,000* respectively.

They mainly concerned antibiotics and chemotherapeutic drugs (2,251 reports), psychopharmaceutical drugs (1,312), vaccines (1,192), drugs prescribed to treat cardiac and circulatory conditions (809), non-steroid inflammation impedants (734) and cell growth-impeding cancer drugs (636).

Most reports concerned serious side-effects, only 21 per cent dealt with minor cases. In between 25 and 50 per cent of cases, Dr Mathias says, patients reacted oversensitively to the drug administered.

The steady increase in the number of cases of side-effects reported in recent years does not necessarily mean that the actual number of cases has increased, Dr Kimbel says.

It does, however, show that doctors and patients have grown more keenly aware of the problem. Manufacturers are reporting more cases too now they are statutorily required to do so.

The commission is shortly to appoint a doctor to serve in an advisory capacity to the medical councils of the *Länder*. He, or she, will be on the spot, as it were.

Establishing a clear connection between taking a drug and suffering from the symptoms that then occur is frequently a problem, Dr Kimbel says. The patient has to be given another dose of the drug.

No-one can be deliberately shocked in this way, and still less can lives be jeopardised, merely to confirm suspicions.

The regular exchange of experience and observations with similar institutions in other European countries is a *useful adjunct.*

Manufacturers can sometimes create difficulties, Dr Kimbel says. Some are overkeen and have to be dissuaded from withdrawing a drug prematurely. Others tend to be thick-skinned.

"In comparison with the 12,000 manufacturers' sales representatives who visit doctors we are the David in a David and Goliath situation," Dr Kimbel says.

He feels manufacturers spend far too much money on advertising to make sure of a slice of the turnover cake.

He is particularly irked by the manufacturers' invitations to doctors to attend congresses. These congresses are increasingly popular, whereas attendance at indepedent congresses held by the medical profession is on the decline.

Eva Tscheldpa

(Mannheimer Morgen, 12 July 1989)

■ HORIZONS

Determination pays off for a paraplegic farmer

Rudolf Voissel does not remember much of what happened. He can remember the Christmas Market at Euskirchen and the meal the family had together.

Then his father asked him to go to the vet in the Eifel. His car skidded on the road near Hergarten.

Seven days later, on Boxing Day 1987, Rudolf Voissel, 21, woke up from a coma and learned that he was a paraplegic.

He says today that he was lucky that someone had immediately called for an ambulance. He is still puzzled how the accident happened.

The complete bewilderment he knew at first, the sense of hopelessness for months on end, have not been forgotten, but he says, he did not want to indulge in self-pity.

"No-one believes me when I say what I do for a job," he said. He works as a farmer on his parent's farmer in Mechernich-Eicks, south-west of Bonn. He is the first working farmer in the country confined to a wheelchair who has had a tractor converted so that it can be operated by a handicapped person.

On the left side of the tractor there is a lift with a swivel chair. Rudolf Voissel got out of his wheelchair into the seat, pressed a button and was lifted about a metre and then he swung into the tractor's driving seat.

Everything has been arranged in the driver's cabin for him. He can accelerate and brake with a left lever, with a right lever he can switch on and off, and operate the clutch.

Slowly he drove the tractor down the main street of Eicks, population 348. Immediately behind the farm the road went for a few kilometres among the hilly fields of the Voreifel. The old farmhouses in the open-air museum at Kommern could be seen clearly in the distance.

Voissel attached a harrow and sowing equipment to the tractor. He can also do this by levers at the driver's seat.

The journey took him to one of the smallest fields. Maize is to be cultivated here, feed for the Voissels' 300 bulls. The family makes its living from breeding bulls.

The feed is financed by growing wheat, barley and sugar-beet, just as important as maize.

Rudolf drove the harrow over the field and then sowed the maize seeds with the sowing equipment in the dead-straight furrows.

"I only feel really good when I can work outside," he said, and it does not upset him in the least when the quiet of the countryside is disturbed by music from the radio.

Before the accident Rudolf Voissel worked as a butcher. He wanted to get his master-butcher's diploma as quickly as possible so that he could sell the meat produced by the family's own cattle.

"I was right at the bottom and I did not know what else I could do," he said, recalling the first days after the accident.

His doctor told him that there was little hope of any improvement in his condition. The labour office advised "re-training."

But working in an office for eight hours a day was his idea of hell, Rudolf said.

He had already been transferred to the rehabilitation centre when it dawned on him that, "if I do the re-training I shall never be able to go home again."

He remained in the Reha Clinic in Cologne for four months. He was visited every day by his friends and encouraged to hold on. His friends told him not to let things get him down — easily said, but Rudolf took the advice to heart.

Then there was his girl-friend. He wanted to get back home as quickly as possible because of her.

She was outraged when a depressed Rudolf suggested that it would probably be better if they parted.

No-one in the family knew at the time what work Rudolf would be able to do in the future. His parents said they would do everything for him, but obviously they did not know exactly what they could do.

Their paralyzed son said he was determined to remain on the farm. "I began to think, if people in wheel-chairs could drive cars, why not a tractor as well?" he explained.

His parents enquired of various firms about a suitable vehicle, but the only answers they got were sympathetic expressions of regret. Eventually they got in touch with the company handling agricultural insurance against occupational accidents, which sent to them Engelbert Humberg, one of their employees who is very committed to his work. He drew up the first designs, and eventually found a company and a tractor with a cabin sufficiently large for the conversion. The conversion cost was DM20,000 — relatively inexpensive when it is considered that re-training would have cost about DM80,000. Insurance companies pay out about a million marks for the rehabilitation and maintenance of a person confined to a wheel-chair in the first ten years. Engelbert Humberg said: "If Rudolf had not been so determined, we would never have found this solution."



Rudolf Voissel where he likes it best . . . on the farm. (Photo: Klaus-Reiner Esser)

The range of technical options available make it possible to find work for many handicapped people, not just in agriculture but also in building, for instance.

The important equipment for getting from the wheel-chair into the driver's cabin can be installed in building equipment as well.

For a year Rudolf Voissel has been working in the tractor with the approval of the "Technischer Überwachungs-Verein," (TÜV), the equivalent to MOT in Britain.

The heavy tractor has only once given him problems — last summer, of all times, when he drove to the fields alone for the first time.

While bundling up straw the clutch suddenly went wrong and the tractor would not move an inch. Rudolf was there alone in the open fields.

He prepared himself for a long evening in the field, but quite by chance his uncle came along.

Immediately after this incident his parents had a radio installed in the tractor.

Financially Rudolf Voissel is not badly off. He had paid industrial accident insurance and had contributed to social insurance against occupational accidents.

Engelbert Humberg can tell of cases which are quite different.

One case he described involved a young man who had lost an arm in a turnip-cutting machine. Humberg said that today he only got the DM500 pension laid down by law because the social insurance against occupational accidents was not responsible for accidents in the first year of training.

Rudolf Voissel has got to know others who have suffered the same fate as himself, but who have a more difficult time than he does.

One returned to the Reha Clinic a week after having been discharged on psychological grounds.

All his friends had abandoned him. "If you live in a city that can easily happen," Rudolf said.

No-one is left alone so quickly in a small village. All the conversions that had to be done in Rudolf's home were done by friends. Most of them are tradesmen; not a single one shirked helping out for friendship's sake.

There are always friends who come round in the evening offering to take Rudolf out.

Last year on the Monday preceding Ash Wednesday they were successful; Rudolf went with them to Kommern for the carnival procession, where most of his acquaintances, embarrassed, gave him a wide berth.

In the evening when they were all sitting together in the pub celebrating, the others gradually joined him — a few beers soon helped to get over the embarrassment.

This year Rudolf joined in the carnival procession on his own. His friends pushed him through the streets whilst he played a tenor horn.

He has been in the music society for years and has turned up for every event after his accident. The society plays an important role in life in small Eicks. It has 45 members.

In the Voissels' barn there is a dried up maypole — a souvenir of the last May Night when Rudolf once more did his courting.

He is now chairman of the village's bachelors' guild.

One Sunday evening a group of young people were sitting around the tennis hall in Lohmar, commenting on the last match.

People in wheel-chairs and the non-handicapped were together on the tennis court battling it out for every ball.

Rudolf has already had five hours of tennis lessons. He looked at the others with disbelief, when they move their wheel-chairs with tremendous speed across the court and tricked their opponents with precisely played balls, but he did not show any sign of being discouraged.

He said: "Tennis is much more fun than basket-ball," and the fun is enough to help him carry on.

For the past six months Rudolf Voissel has been "coming to terms," as he puts it. "I have to have something to do otherwise I'm restless." He says this repeatedly.

Last August he was able to slave away for the first time again. During the maize harvest he was in the fields for ten hours at a stretch every day for a couple of weeks.

Obviously more is needed to work with the tractor than using buttons and levers. Rudolf continuously looks behind him, to keep his eye on the work going on at the rear of the tractor.

For someone who is paralyzed it is very exhausting, having to turn the upper part of the body continuously. Then he does not have any room to move himself about in the driver's seat of the tractor.

One evening when he got home his legs were all swollen. He had not noticed that his blood had gone to his legs because he had had to turn the upper part of his body all the time.

The future

He said that no-one else drove the tractor except himself. He drives to Erftstadt to buy sand and gravel or to Euskirchen to fetch feed and fertilizers.

The dealers know him and load what he buys on the tractor's trailor for him.

But the tractor does not keep him busy on the farm all the year round. Sometimes most of the work is involved with the bulls.

This is why Rudolf's father has bought a small tractor with which his son can take the feed into the five cowsheds. They are still something like a building site. The passage ways had to be widened so as to make all the animal pens accessible to the small tractor.

So far father and son have done most of the work on the farm alone. Only during the grain harvest in the autumn do they sign on a leasing company which has available expensive equipment such as combine harvesters.

But when mention is made of the future Herr Voissel senior's brow becomes furrowed with anxiety. He complains openly about the European Community and particularly the politicians.

"Three years ago I got DM33,000 more for 140 animals than I do now — how can things go on like this?" he asked.

Rudolf is certain that things will go on, at least with the Voissels. The farm is large enough to provide a living for them with 300 bulls and its 210 or so acres.

When his father can no longer work Rudolf will take on a worker and carry on with the farm.

Barbara Schemkes

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 8 July 1989)

■ SPORT

Crossed swords at world fencing championships

The German team won nine medals at the world fencing championships in Denver, Colorado. This exceeded the nine won at the Seoul Olympics last year.

But success was not only on the field of battle: the team also showed itself to be adept at theatre. Slump and then boom. After the women's epee team disappointed by coming only fifth, mood in the German camp sunk to its lowest point.

Of all competitors, it was the men's epee specialists who provided the booster. In the individual event, none of the five had reached the last eight.

So the cry of delight from the team's chief trainer, Emil Beck, was all the more strident when the men's epee team reached the final with a 9-4 win over Cuba. It was the seventh time in a row the team had reached the final in a world or Olympic tournament. This time, it went on to lose the final 4-9 to Italy.


A spoiled day for chief trainer Emil Beck. (Photo: dpa)

Beck: "I'm proud of the team. They achieved an awful lost despite upheavals." And of course, he couldn't be dissuaded from taking a side-swipe at the gold medal winner at the Seoul Olympics, Arndt Schmitt who, according to the official version, opted out of these world championships because of exams.

"Without... Schmitt, we still are among the best in the world," said Beck. But an important reason for Schmitt's decision was that he doesn't get on with either Beck or some of the other fencers from Tauberbischofsheim (the centre in south Germany where Beck is chief trainer at a national fencing school and where many German international fencers come from).

The success of the male epee team helped compensate for the disappointment at the performance of the women's epee team which, along with the men's individual epee, were the only two events where Germany won no medals at all.

The biggest success were the foil specialists. The women won both the team gold medal and the individual silver (Anja Fichtel) and bronze (Zita Funkenhauser). The men's team won the silver and Alexander Koch took the individual title.

The sabre specialists enjoyed something of their own American dream. They are rather the stepchildren of the sport in Germany but, inside a few days, graduated from also-rans to medal winners. When they left Bonn, they hardly expected that they would win a silver in the team event and another for Felix Becker in the individual event.

This lack of optimism was because the best prospects for developing a successful team are at Tauberbischofsheim, where the exceptional organisational talents of Beck unlock all possible sources of cash. Fencing is Beck's great life passion.

A lunge in time saves . . . not this time. Anja Fichtel (right) and Russia's Olga Velitschko in the women's foil final. Velitschko won. (Photo: dpa)

The Bonn team were doubly satisfied because of its disadvantage. Beck did not like this at all. He is sensitive to criticism and in Denver, he was irritated by Koch, his trainer and the Bonn team who openly talked about how fencers in Bonn could train more freely — and without being patronised — than those in Tauberbischofsheim.

Beck is a wine connoisseur. Bad wine leaves a bad taste. He didn't like the taste either when the Bonn fencers dared to actually say that their satisfaction was all the greater because the winners were not from Tauberbischofsheim.

In his anger, Beck forgot that the criticism only reflected an important part of his success. Because after all it is because of him that the three largest fencing centre in Germany — Tauberbischofsheim, Bonn and Heidenheim — now are in a position to fly at each other. Competition is a strengthener. The major opponents of the Germans in Denver had some reservations about the German performance. The Soviet Union, which won four titles, which put it at the top of the list but which was second behind Germany in overall placings, warned against too much self-satisfaction.

Mark Midler, the trainer of the Soviet men's foil team: "If you believe that there is nothing left to improve, that is the beginning of the end. I have myself never been to Tauberbischofsheim but I know how German fencers train. They place a great deal of value on competition practice... (competitive) rounds of fencing (between each other) is part of practically every training day. But technique suffers because of it. It's a deficiency that can usually be compensated for by an extremely strong will to win."

Beck rejects this criticism bluntly: "That's a bit rich, coming from them. When it comes to technique, we are among the leading nations in the world."

Michael Ebert

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 July 1989)

Local politicians know it: the Olympic magic is real

Mounting a campaign to host the Olympic Games is de rigueur for go-getting local politicians. West Berlin's mayor, Walter Momper; Frankfurt's Volker Hauff; Hamburg's Henning Voscherau; Stuttgart's Manfred Rommel and Dortmund's Günter Samtlebe are all in the act. Now Berndt Seidel, the mayor of Leipzig, in East Germany, is also there. Their aim is the year 2004, perhaps earlier.

Perhaps earlier because Peking, the mostly likely candidate for 2000, has blotted *its* copybook — if a massacre is allowed to be described in such a euphemistic manner.

Athens is due to host the 100th Olympics of modern times in 1996, but the International Olympic Committee (IOC) is worried by the chaotic state of preparations which obviously reflect the state of the political situation there.

But Leipzig? There is much to suggest that this is a tactic by party secretary Erich Honecker to end the idea of a joint Games in West and East Berlin. IOC rules say that only one city in any one country can be proposed.

If that is the thinking behind the nomination, it is a clever diversionary tactic. So, is the Leipzig move really a tactical ploy? Or is something more profound involved?

Observers in East Germany know what West German centres will say to support their applications. In this country, the Olympic Games has for long been much more than a meeting place for the Youth of the World.

It is a huge campaign to mobilise city development and civic pride. Massive TV fees mean enormous costs are now incoming as well as outgoing.

But the decisive factor is not the actual bid itself (it is being conceded inside the IOC that a German bid is highly unlikely to be accepted). Just as important are the expectations that accompany it. The idea must be kept alive.

In the pre-Olympic excitement, planning processes develop their own dynamic; authorities and businesses are much more prepared to agree to projects that otherwise would take years or even decades. New arenas, residential accommodation, streets, suburban train stations, airports, telecommunications centres: the Olympic Games have become a powerful driving force for developing infrastructure. Munich staged the Games in 1972 and is still profiting. Experts say it won 20 years of development through them.

The second, and no less important, effect is psychological. Cities run lavish public-relations campaigns. The Olympics have become — and for all political parties aside from a section of the Greens — a means of promoting areas with the main aim of demonstrating economic muscle to a world audience. That's why all the applicants keep a jealous eye out to see that no one gains a competitive edge.

The Ruhr (Dortmund is in the Ruhr) is showing how to motivate people. There was a loud outcry when an official formerly in charge of sport in Frankfurt told Ruhr politicians that they should concentrate on creating jobs rather than get involved in an "Olympic adventure,"

This somewhat arrogant piece of advice from an official of another Olympic Games bidder impressed no one: this is a time of change in the Ruhr and the area is working hard to change its steel-and-coal image. It does not want to be the cinderella any more. The Olympics, this symbol of omnipotence, is an important component of this drive, which has widespread popular support.

Opinion polls report that 73 per cent of people in the Ruhr would like to have the Games there. Is there any need for further evidence of popular identification? And are all these factors not also valid for East Germany, which is in far greater need of the benefits?

The cities can continue for a while to compete against one another. The national Olympic committee will not begin the official process to select the German nomination until 1995.

The IOC will not make a final choice of host city until 1997. This presupposes that the choice is still for the 2004 Games and not for an earlier event.

The President of the German NOC, Willi Daume, will continue to praise the efforts of all contenders with the aim of encouraging them. Cunningly, Daume says that Leipzig "is also a good place" for the Games.

In July, representatives of the five West German contenders came together in full strength and met Daume. The aim was to help them to keep up the momentum. Foreign cities the winner will be competing against include Atlanta, Melbourne and Toronto.

The hope is that Messrs Hauff, Momper, Rommel, Samtlebe and Voscherau will give the five Olympic rings a polish so they are at their beaming best — and maintain a process of modernisation of Olympic proportions. That itself is an aim. Getting the Games themselves would be a bonus.

Josef-Otto Freudenreich

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 22 June 1989)